DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 216 187 CE 032 515

TITLE Keeping Women Out: A Structural Analysis of Women's Employment in Developing Countries.
INSTITUTION International Center for Research on Women, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY Agency for International Development (IDCA), Washington, D.C. Office of Women in Development.
PUB DATE Apr 80
CONTRACT IDCA-OTR-C-1801
NOTE 122p.; For a related document see ED 212 760.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Agricultural Occupations; Change Strategies; *Developing Nations; Discriminatory Legislation; Economic Change; Economic Development; Economic Factors; Employment Opportunities; *Employment Patterns; Employment Practices; *Employment Problems; *Females; Household Workers; Labor; Labor Legislation; Labor Needs; Policy Formation; *Public Policy; Salary Wage Differentials; *Sex Discrimination; Sex Role; Social Bias; Underemployment
IDENTIFIERS *Third World

ABSTRACT

Work in the lives of most Third World nation women is not a matter of equity and/or self-actualization. Rather, the changing economic roles and responsibilities of women make working a matter of economic survival. Despite the limitations of existing definitional and measurement problems related to data collection, regional data do exist which illustrate the key role of women in national development. Included among these constraints are the following: women's traditional position in the family, cultural prescriptions and job segregation, traditional educational and training patterns, a surplus of male labor, capital intensive development, and protectionist legislation. In addition, there exist a number of critical issues that combine to relegate the mainstream of women to low-status, low-paying jobs on the fringes of the economy. These include the assumed incompatibility of worker and mother roles and the marginalization of women workers through exploitative conditions. Both international and national policymakers must take measures to minimize constraints to women's employment, to end the effects of protectionist legislation, to relieve the double burden of women, and to minimize the marginalization of women workers. (MN)

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KEEPING WOMEN OUT:
A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

International Center for Research on Women

April 1980

Prepared for the Office of Women in Development, Bureau of Program and Policy Coordination, Agency for International Development under Contract Number OTR-C-1801.

CE032515

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Executive Summary

There are four major objectives to this Report.

1. To introduce the subject matter of women's work and employment, not only as a response to women's economic need (though this is certainly a crucial part) but also in relation to the contribution women make when they are integrated into the economy of developing nations. Two aspects of woman's contribution through work are explored in Sections I and II using empirical data: the impact of women's earnings on family welfare; and the contribution made through participation in different sectors of the economy.

   The data of the pervasive and pressing need to work of separated, divorced and widowed women and single mothers throughout the Third World is overwhelming. The earnings of married women are increasingly recognized as necessary for household survival. Women's work status and earning capacity is associated with family well-being as reflected in children's improved nutritional status and the practice of using women's earnings to obtain food and shelter rather than consumer goods.

   The substantial contribution of women to the economy is demonstrated by their active participation in all sectors--agriculture, industry and services. Although women participate at different rates in sectors compared to the total labor force, they are estimated to contribute roughly the same as, or in some countries even more than, the proportion of women in the labor force. Women are also more active than men as unpaid family workers.

2. To demonstrate that women's work patterns and the constraints they encounter have to be understood within the context of how labor markets in developing economies operate to restrict levels of demand for women workers. This is in contrast to the over emphasized argument in development literature which focuses on assumptions made regarding the short supply of women available for work.

   With respect to the supply of female labor (section III A), the data presented does not support the conventional argument that high fertility is a deterrent to women's entry into the work force. Increasingly women with high parity are actively searching for entry into and participating in the work force. Prescribed sex-segregation patterns in the labor market are not rigid. Examples from several countries are provided to illustrate how cultural conceptions of job appropriateness for each sex offer little resistance to structural changes and labor market needs. Lack of education and training does not keep women out of the labor market (in fact, participation peaks at both ends of the educational hierarchy); it does however, relegate women to low-status low-pay jobs.

   With respect to restrictions on the level of demand for women workers

(Section III B), the data suggests that high unemployment rates may well be used to discriminate against women workers on the basis that giving women jobs will increase male unemployment rates. Several countries indeed show the negative effect of overall unemployment on women's work participation rate. When data is disaggregated, another trend is apparent among low income families, i.e., women's work increases with overall unemployment, supposedly to compensate for losses incurred by the men.

The data is compelling in showing how women are "squeezed out" of the work force as a result of capital intensive development through the introduction of commercial, export oriented agriculture, highly technical and mechanized industry and through a lack of planning for the expansion of the tertiary sector. Legislation adopted to "protect" women workers is also shown, by way of country illustrations, to have a negative effect on women's employment by encouraging employer discrimination against women workers.

3. To identify critical issues related to the position women occupy in the work structure; how these are manifested in various facets and how they combine to relegate the mainstream of women to low-status low-paying jobs on the fringes of the economy (Section IV). The Double Burden is one of these issues, to the extent that the assumed incompatibility of worker and mother roles is used by society to justify women's marginal position in the work force and by virtue of its universality among poor women. The 'marginalization' of women workers occurs through exploitative conditions of domestic labor; high underrepresentation in paid labor; high unemployment/underemployment trends; high involvement in informal sectors of the economy and the underremuneration of women workers (when compared to male workers). Further, marginalization of women is created by the decreasing role women play in agricultural production, as a result of land fragmentation, changing systems of agricultural production, land reform, etc., and insufficient promotion of off-farm employment in areas where women already have skills (marketing and trade, small scale production, etc.).

   Section IV concludes by giving serious consideration to the issue of the internationalization of female labor in Third World countries through the establishment of transnational corporations. The fact that such firms have created employment opportunities for thousands of women is acknowledged. The discussion focuses, however, on the adverse conditions of employment, the instability created by the uncertain long-term viability of those firms in any one location, and calls into question whether this is commendable strategy to promote female employment.

4. A set of policy recommendations is proposed in Section VI to enhance women's employment possibilities in developing societies.

OVERVIEW

The purpose of this background report is to disclose a series of issues which have been identified as critical to women's employment, underemployment and unemployment in the Third World, particularly among the poor. These issues will be discussed in the following order:

a) women's unrecognized need to work as a result of their changing economic responsibilities;

b) the importance of women's productive contribution to national development;

c) the importance of structural forces in restricting the level of demand for women workers in the labor market, in contrast to the overemphasized constraints on the supply factors;

d) factors critical to the employment of low income women such as the influences of multi-national corporations' worldwide search for cheap labor.

A series of recommendations for policy intervention is presented for most of the critical issues identified.

I. WOMEN'S CHANGING ECONOMIC ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

From a development perspective, arguments are advanced for promoting efforts to increase the economic contribution of women as a means of making fuller use of all human resources for economic development. Furthermore, increasing Third World women's opportunities for employment and wage earning are a critical means toward improving income distribution.

There are two dimensions to the issue being discussed here: women's economic need and women's economic contribution to the well-being of the household.

A. Women's Economic Need to Work

Work in the lives of the majority of women in the Third World is not a matter of equity and/or self actualization. The changing economic roles and responsibilities of women, particularly among the poor, make working a matter of economic survival. Working women often come from extremely poor households, and include single women with children, women married to men in the lowest income brackets, and older divorced and widowed women who are dependent upon their own resources.

Economic and demographic changes accompanying the development process have contributed to the worsening condition of the working classes, initially for men and more recently for women. The emergence of a class system of wage labor in the larger capitalist economy combined with a growing surplus in the labor population and high rates of urbanization have restricted economic opportunities, intensified unemployment and increased the reserve pool of male migrant labor . Insufficient employment opportunities, shortage of productive assets required for self employment and limited availability of wage labor are the principal reasons for male migration. Under such economic pressures, family structures are no longer able to function as protective welfare systems and extend economic support to their women as dictated by tradition. Traditional support systems are collapsing, particularly as they pertain to protective functions provided to widows and to divorced and single mothers. The result has been the emergence of an increasing number of male-absent households in which women have become the primary, if not the sole, supporters. Male unemployment and/or low earnings have also meant an increase in the number of married women workers. Low male wages often impose a double responsibility on married women who need to subsidize the family income through additional home production and work outside the home.

Unfortunately, current data collection practices do not make visible to policy makers the "real" economic need of women. When economic need is indexed by female work participation rates or female unemployment statistics, the picture is deceptive because of definitional and measurement problems intrinsic to census taking.

Structural Factors Linked to the Poverty of Women Heads of Household: Program planning has often ignored the de facto woman head of household and the single mother. Households headed by women have been estimated to range between 23% and 30% of all households; the estimated variation of such households in 80 developing societies ranges from 10% to 46%.[1,2] The proportion in Latin America is much higher in urban than in rural areas, and much greater in rural areas in labor exporting societies, such as in Africa.

The evidence linking female heads of household with poverty is strong.

The single mother syndrome in Latin America and the Caribbean is linked to structural poverty. The phenomenon is associated with male seasonal and marginal employment; births outside of formalized unions are due in large part to the inability of men to meet the economic obligations of stable marriage. The multiplicity of sexual unions and consequent childbearing is also perpetuated by the woman's inability to survive economically on her own once a union is terminated. The presence of single mothers is more clearly documented for most Latin American[3] and some African societies[4], though it probably exists in other countries as well. In the case of Latin America, the documentation is ample enough to identify the majority of single mothers as low income, young, migrant, economically self-supporting women with little chance of employment other than in domestic service.

Field inquiries in slum areas in Latin American countries indicate twice as many households headed by women as compared to those headed by men at extreme poverty levels. In part of Java, Indonesia, 65% of the urban and 32% of the divorced and widowed rural women workers did not earn enough to support a single person's need (Redmana et al.1977). In rural Bangladesh (Cain 1979) and Botswana(Kossoudji and Mueller 1980) women heads of household earn considerably less than male family heads; and in parts of Kenya (Kenya Employment Mission n.d.), twice as many women heads of household as compared to men are unemployed and unable to generate income.

The economic needs of women heads of household are reflected in the particularly high activity rates displayed by the divorced, widowed and separated groups. In combined form these rates range in Latin America and parts of Asia (Sri Lanka, Indonesia) between 46% to 78%; and in Nigeria (age groups 20-38) between 61% to 85%. Many of the factors that contribute to perpetuating the poverty among this group stem from constraints under which women operate, in general, but which are attenuated by women's double responsibility for child care and economic survival.

These constraints include: women's difficulty in finding work;[5] the low level of asset ownership among women;[6] low earnings;[7] and lack of support from secondary earners.[8]

B. Women's Economic Contribution to Family Well-being

The extent of women's economic need may also be assessed by considering the degree to which women contribute economically to the well-being of family or household members. There is some evidence from Latin America, and considerable evidence from Africa, South and Southeast Asia which demonstrates that women's contributions to household income provide the means to meet basic survival needs such as food, clothing and shelter. Ultimately, women's contributions make possible improvements in the health and nutritional status of young household members.

In census counts "married" women often are automatically classified as "housewives", veiling the important economic contribution they make or attempt to make to the household. The actual number of economically active married women is much larger than aggregate level data would indicate.[9]

In many traditional societies, most notable those of sub-Saharan Africa and certain matrilineal regions of Southeast Asia, women are exclusively responsible for their children's survival and well-being (PAG-UN 1977; Tinker 1979; Safilios-Rothschild 1980). Women are in charge of family garden plots on which they grow produce for family consumption. Sometimes they also earn cash income by selling surplus crops to buy such goods as clothing and school supplies for their dependents. Generally, women's ability to meet the subsistence needs of their families is inextricably tied to the extent of control they exert over the intra-household allocation of money. It has been reported that where women remain in control of their individual income, as in sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Thailand, increased income tends to improve both the quantity and quality of the food available to their families. Increased income of men, who are often not required to help meet family subsistence needs, goes into the purchase of consumer goods and entertainment, and only in case of emergencies into buying food items (Thailand National Council of Women, 1977; Safilios-Rothschild 1980).

Yet even in societies that do not traditionally give women the economic responsibility of supporting a family, women in impoverished households must take on the responsibility in order to supplement the family's earnings. Traditional sex roles and sexual distinctions in the division of labor break down and women are, as one researcher put it, "relegated to the problematic responsibility for family subsistence" in spite of the fact that cultural expectations require that men be the sole or primary providers for their families (ibid:9).[10]

There is increasing evidence that the earnings of working mothers have a positive influence on the nutritional and health status of their children.[11] However, there appears to be a trade-off between the increased nutrient availability resulting from women's wages and the reduction in childcare time and quality that a mother's absence from the home tends to produce (Popkin 1978). Moreover, women who seek employment which is compatible with childcare tend to settle for jobs which, although closer to home or offering flexible schedules, are poorly remunerated. In these cases "the additional food preparation and other home production time that women with compatible market work have available appear to be inadequate to compensate for the food they cannot afford to buy at their lower income levels" (ibid:24).

It is clear, then, that program and policy measures must be taken to ensure adequate childcare alternatives for working women and allow for increased purchasing power and improved child health.

Lastly, there is another dimension to women's economic contribution to family wellbeing, one that does not depend exclusively on women's wage earning capacity. Women contribute economically to the household by producing goods for exchange value in the marketplace; they can obtain credit from informal neighborhood associations and cooperatives in times of extreme need; and they can exchange goods and services such as food and childcare with other women in neighboring households (Hammam 1979; Nieves 1979).

II. WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Given the limitations of existing data, assessing women's contribution to national development is a difficult task. As spelled out in an earlier paper (ICRW 1980), existing employment measures tend to under represent women's economic participation and contribution to the overall economy for several reasons. Primary among these is that much of women's work takes place outside of the formal labor market in produce activities within the household and family enterprises (as unpaid workers). Women are also more active in the informal sector and as secondary part-time or seasonal workers, which in general pose measurement problems. Employment data from developing countries is often based on definitions inappropriate to local labor market conditions, and as such, fails to capture much of women's economic contribution. Because of the many problems in assessing output per worker in developing countries, attempts to measure the contribution of any one group within the labor force prove to be extremely difficult. In recognizing these problems, great caution in the interpretation of existing data is needed.

Within the limitations of definitional and measurement problems related to data collection, regional data which do exist (mostly from the I.L.O. Yearbook of Labor Statistics) may still be useful in pointing to some very general trends and regional variations in the patterning of female employment.

Tables I through V indicate:

- the current extent of women's labor force participation and changes registered since the 1960's (showing, in sum, that women do indeed work). Table I.
- the agricultural and non-agricultural participation rates for

women (showing regional variations in women's economic involvement). Table II.

- the sectoral distribution of women's employment relative to the total labor force (showing that the structure of the labor market for women is different from the overall labor market). Table III.

- the sex distribution of economically active women according to work status, specifically the proportion of males to females, "unpaid" family workers, and of paid "employees" relative to men, to highlight the differences in remuneration trends for women's and men's work. Table IV.

- and the estimated contribution of women's work to the overall GDP adjusted for the sectoral distribution of their employment (to identify in more concrete terms the role of women in the overall economy). Table V.

A. Changes in the Level of Women's Labor Force Participation Since the Early 1960's

Table I shows the total labor force participation rates for women 15 years and older[*] for c. 1975 (for 105 countries) and c. 1960 (for 58 countries). Regional means show that women's reported labor force participation rates in the 1970s are highest in Africa (45.8) and Asia (42.9) and lowest in the Middle East (11.4) with Latin America (26.8) falling midway between. All regions have experienced a rise in the rates of labor force participation since the 1960s with the largest proportionate increase being reported for the Middle East (53%).

In looking at the individual countries in Table I, the highest

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[*] Women's labor force participation rate = $\frac{\text{Economically Active Women 15+}}{\text{Total Women 15+}}$ x 100.

Table I: Labor Force Participation Rates for Women 15 Years and Over

c. 1960 and 1978.

Country/ Region	c. 1960 [a]	c. 1975 [b]	Percent Change from 1960 to 1978
AFRICA			
Angola	.076	.080	+ 5.2
Benin	-0-	.691	-0-
Botswana	-0-	.735	-0-
Burundi	-0-	.693	-0-
Cameroon	-0-	.482	-0-
Central African Rep	-0-	.811	-0-
Comoros	-0-	.427	-0-
Congo	.796	.561	-29.5
Ivory Coast	.739	.734	- 0.6
Ethiopia	-0-	.569	-0-
Gabon	.495	.528	+ 6.4
Gambia	-0-	.705	-0-
Ghana	.566	.568	+ 0.3
Guinea	-0-	.580	-0-
Guinea Bissau	-0-	.036	-0-
Eauatorial Guinea	-0-	.043	-0-
Kenya	-0-	.442	-0-
Lesotho	-0-	.738	-0-
Liberia	.429	.248	+42.2
Madagascar	-0-	.737	-0-
Malawi	-0-	.537	-0-
Mali	-0-	.831	-0-
Mauritania	-0-	.039	-0-
Mauritius	.175	.220	+25.7
Mozambique	.081	.309	+281.4
Namimbia	-0-	.241	-0-
Niger	-0-	.104	-0-
Nigeria	.277	.534	+92.7
Reunion	.180	.236	+31.1
Rwanda	-0-	.849	-0-
Senegal	-0-	.531	-0-
Sierra Leone	.449	.427	- 4.8
Somalia	-0-	.375	-0-
Sudan	.413	.111	-73.1
Swaziland	-0-	.740	-0-
Seychelles	.541	.510	- 5.7
Tanzania	-0-	.501	-0-
Tchad	-0-	.267	-0-
Togo	-0-	.540	-0-
Upper Volta	-0-	.026	-0-
Uganda	-0-	.462	-0-
Zaire	-0-	.591	-0-
Zambia	-0-	.313	-0-
$\bar{x}$	.401	.458	+28.6
(n)	(n=13)	(n=43)	(n=13)

Country/ Region	c. 1960 [a]	c. 1975 [b]	Percent Change from 1960 to 1975
MIDDLE EAST			
Algeria	.027	.032	+18.5
Egypt	.052	.069	+32.7
Iran	.121	.155	+28.1
Iraq	.032	.042	+31.3
Jordan	.044	.064	+45.6
Kuwait	.089	.085	- 4.4
Libya	.047	.067	+42.5
Morocco	.088	.131	+48.9
Saudi Arabia	-0-	.049	-0-
Syria	.076	.111	+46.1
S. Yemen	-0-	.053	-0-
N. Yemen	-0-	.044	-0-
Tunisia	.055	.189	+243.6
Turkey	-0-	.506	-0-
$\bar{x}$	.063	.114	+53.3
(n)	(n=10)	(n=14)	(n=10)
ASIA			
Afghanistan	-0-	.201	-0-
Bangladesh	-0-	.194	-0-
Bhutan	-0-	.586	-0-
Burma	-0-	.459	-0-
China	-0-	.530	-0-
Hong Kong	.410	.433	+ 5.3
India	.428	.409	- 4.4
Indonesia	.310	.336	+ 8.3
Kampuchea	.582	.522	-10.3
N. Korea	-0-	.660	-0-
S. Korea	.279	.378	+35.5
Lao Rep.	-0-	.700	-0-
Malaysia (West)	.298	.366	+22.8
Mongolia	-0-	.429	-0-
Nepal	.594	.581	- 2.1
Pakistan	-0-	.097	-0-
Philippines	.272	.403	+48.1
Singapore	.216	.302	+39.8
Sri Lanka	.236	.275	+16.5
Thailand	.813	.715	-12.0
$\bar{x}$	.403	.429	+13.4
(n)	(n=11)	(n=20)	(n=11)

Table I: (cont)

Country/ Region	c. 1960 [a]	c. 1975 [b]	Percent Change from 1960 to 1975
LATIN AMERICA			
Argentina	.232	.269	+15.9
Barbados	-0-	.437	-0-
Bolivia	.602	.222	-63.1
Brazil	.184	.221	+20.1
Colombia	.203	.260	+28.1
Costa Rica	.175	.210	+20.0
Cuba	.140	.193	+37.9
Chile	.011	.224	+1936.4
Dominican Rep.	.110	.117	+15.5
Ecuador	.176	.224	+27.0
El Salvador	.189	.210	+11.1
Guadeloupe	-0-	.250	-0-
Guatemala	.131	.141	+ 7.6
Guyana	-0-	.262	-0-
Haiti	.830	.700	-15.7
Honduras	.137	.142	+ 3.6
Jamaica	.497	.457	- 8.0
Martinique	.393	.425	+ 8.4
Mexico	.197	.190	- 3.5
Nicaragua	.221	.231	+ 4.5
Panama	.247	.305	+23.5
Paraguay	.248	.248	0
Peru	.224	.219	- 2.2
Puerto Rico	.200	.245	+22.5
Surinam	.237	.237	0
Trinidad & Tobogo	.301	.342	+13.6
Uruguay	.263	.301	+14.4
Venezuela	.202	.236	+16.8
$\bar{x}$	.254	.268	+ 8.3 *
(n)	(n=25)	(n=28)	(n=24)

*Percent change does not include Chile.

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a/ Figures calculated on the basis of data from:
International Labour Office, 1969. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1969. Geneva. Table 1
________________, 1967. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1967. Geneva. Table 1.
________________, 1965. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1965. Geneva. Table 1.

b/ Figures calculated on the basis of data from:
International Labour Office, 1979. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1979. Geneva. Table 1.
________________, 1978. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1978. Geneva Special table pp. 16-47, Table 1.

economic activity rates (over 70) in the 1970s, are reported for Botswana, the Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, the Gambia, Madagascar, Mali, Rwanda, Swaziland, Laos, Thailand and Haiti. Those with the lowest rates (less than 10) include Pakistan, Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and North and South Yemen. On the basis of I.L.O. statistics available for 1960 and 1970, 48 countries have recorded increases in female labor force participation rates while ten have recorded declines. The greatest proportionate increases are reported by Chile, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and the Philippines; the largest proportionate declines are in Bolivia, the Congo and the Sudan. It is not clear, however, to what extent differences between the two periods may be subject to changes in data collection practices, survey techniques, or definitions of employment or economic activity.

The average female labor force participation rate in the 1970s for the 105 developing countries is 36. This statistic confirms the substantial participation of women in the economy. In fact, the previously mentioned limitations of the data suggests that the figure as reported represents a considerable underestimation of women's actual contribution to the economy.

B. The Participation of Women in Agricultural and Non-agricultural Economic Activities

Table II includes recent data for 29 countries which delineates: (i) the crude activity rates of women in agriculture (per thousand population); (ii) the activity rates of women 15 years and older in the non-agricultural sector; and (iii) the respective proportions of females in the total agricultural and non-agricultural labor forces.

Broken down by region, the reported data shows women's crude

Table II: FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES IN AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES C. 1978 a/

Region/Country	Female Labor Force b/ Participation Rates		Proportion Labor Force Female	
	Agric. (crude) per 1,000	Non-agric. (15 years+) per 100	Agric.	Non-agric.
AFRICA				
Cameroon	317	6.6	.47	.19
Liberia	131	4.2	.31	.15
	$\bar{x}$ = 224	$\bar{x}$ = 5.4	$\bar{x}$ = .39	$\bar{x}$ = .17
MIDDLE EAST				
Egypt	7	5.3	.03	.11
Iran	26	11.2	.12	.17
Libya	13	4.4	.11	.05
Tunisia	23	-	.13	.21
Turkey	266	5.7	.50	.11
Syria	17	5.6	.21	.10
	$\bar{x}$ = 59	$\bar{x}$ = 6.4	$\bar{x}$ = .18	$\bar{x}$ = .12
ASIA				
Bangladesh	18	1.5	.04	.05
Hong Kong	7	45.2	.33	.35
India	169	35.7	.20	.10
Indonesia	142	15.0	.32	.35
Korea	124	24.8	.44	.34
Philippines	91	28.9	.24	.47
Singapore	4	39.7	.27	.33
Thailand	152	18.7	.37	.41
	$\bar{x}$ = 88	$\bar{x}$ = 26.2	$\bar{x}$ = .28	$\bar{x}$ = .30
LATIN AMERICA				
Bolivia	38	17.8	.13	.31
Brazil	58	25.4	.21	.33
Chile	3	17.7	.03	.28
Ecuador	12	15.8	.05	.28
Paraguay	18	20.9	.06	.37
Venezuela	7	28.8	.06	.32
El Salvador	30	35.6	.10	.46
Guatemala	6	12.9	.02	.30
Honduras	7	16.1	.02	.37
Mexico	20	22.1	.09	.35
Nicaragua	28	28.2	.11	.44
Jamaica	71	53.0	.28	.54
Trinidad & Tobogo	22	-	.23	.31
	$\bar{x}$ = 25	$\bar{x}$ = 24.5	$\bar{x}$ = .11	$\bar{x}$ = .36

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a/ Sources: International Labour Office,1978. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1978, Geneva. Special table, pp. 16-47; Tables 1, 2A.

International Labour Office, 1979. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1979, Geneva. Tables 1 and 2A.

United Nations, 1976. Demographic Yearbook 1976. Table 7.

b/ For women in agriculture, crude activity rates (economically active females in agriculture/ total female population) are provided on the assumption that a significant number of female agricultural workers are less than 15 years of age.

For women in non-agricultural sectors, the activity rates are calculated for the female population 15 years and over on the assumption that most female non-agricultural workers are more than 15 years of age.

agricultural activity rate to be at its peak in Africa (224) and Asia (88); and lowest in Latin America (25) and the Middle East (6).[12] Individual country data shows that these rates are highest for women in Cameroon (317) and Turkey (266) and lowest in Chile (3) and Guatemala (6).

Non-agricultural activity rates are highest for women in Asia (26.2) and Latin America (24.5) and lowest for the Middle East (6.4) and Africa (5.4). Country specific rates are highest for women in Jamaica (53.0) and Hong Kong (45.2) and lowest for women in Bangladesh (1.5) and Liberia (4.2).

The female proportion of the agricultural work force is also greater in Africa and Asia (39% and 28% respectively) than in Latin America and the Middle East (11% and 18% respectively). Individual countries with the highest proportion of females in agriculture include Cameroon (47%) and Turkey (50%); while those with the lowest are Guatemala (2%) and Honduras (2%).

A regional breakdown indicates higher proportions of females in the non-agricultural work force in Latin America (36%) and Asia (30%) than in Africa (17%) and the Middle East (12%). Countries with the highest proportions of females in the non-agricultural sectors include Jamaica (54%) and the Phillipines (47%); and the lowest include Libya (5%) and Bangladesh (5%).

C. Sectoral Distribution of Women Workers Relative to the Total Labor Force

Table III attempts to demonstrate that the sectoral distribution of the female labor force is substantially different from the total labor force by (i) subtracting the proportion of the total labor force in a

Table III: DISTRIBUTION OF THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE RELATIVE TO THE TOTAL LABOR FORCE. C, 1975.

Region/ Country	Sector[a]	Distribution of Female Labor Force	Distribution[b] of Total Labor Force	Differential	Total Deviation[c]
AFRICA					
Cameroon	Ag	.87	.74	+13	
	Ind	.03	.06	- 3	26
	Ser	.10	.20	-10	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Liberia	Ag	.84	.72	+12	
	Ind	.01	.07	- 6	24
	Ser	.15	.21	- 6	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
					$(\bar{x} = 25)$
MIDDLE EAST					
Egypt	Ag	.18	.44	-26	
	Ind	.11	.19	- 8	68
	Ser	.71	.37	+34	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Iran	Ag	.29	.37	- 8	
	Ind	.45	.31	+14	28
	Ser	.26	.32	- 6	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Libya	Ag	.38	.22	+16	
	Ind	.06	.25	-19	38
	Ser	.56	.53	+ 3	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Tunisia	Ag	.23	.32	- 9	
	Ind	.42	.26	+16	32
	Ser	.35	.42	- 7	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Turkey	Ag	.89	.64	+25	
	Ind	.04	.11	- 7	50
	Ser	.07	.25	-18	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Syria	Ag	.51	.34	+17	
	Ind	.16	.15	+ 1	36
	Ser	.33	.51	-18	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
					$(\bar{x} = 42)$

Region/ Country	Sector	Distribution of Female Labor Force	Distribution of Total Labor Force	Differential	Total Deviation
ASIA					
Bangladesh	Ag	.70	.77	- 7	
	Ind	.04	.05	- 1	16
	Ser	.26	.18	+ 8	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Hong Kong	Ag	.02	.03	- 1	
	Ind	.60	.51	+ 9	18
	Ser	.38	.46	- 8	
India	Ag	.83	.72	+11	
	Ind	.08	.12	- 4	22
	Ser	.09	.16	- 7	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Indonesia	Ag	.62	.64	- 2	
	Ind	.09	.09	-0-	4
	Ser	.29	.27	+ 2	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Korea	Ag	.43	.37	+ 6	
	Ind	.24	.29	- 5	12
	Ser	.33	.34	- 1	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Philippines	Ag	.34	.51	-17	
	Ind	.15	.15	-0-	34
	Ser.	.51	.34	+17	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Singapore	Ag	.02	.02	-0-	
	Ind	.39	.33	+ 6	12
	Ser	.59	.65	- 6	
		(1,00)	(1.00)		
Thailand	Ag	.59	.62	- 3	
	Ind	.15	.14	+ 1	6
	Ser	.26	.24	+ 2	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
					$(\bar{x} = 16)$

Table III: (cont.)

Region/ Country	Sector	Distribution of Female Labor Force	Distribution of Total Labor Force	Differential	Total Deviation
LATIN AMERICA					
Argentina	Ag	.04	.15	-11	
	Ind	.19	.29	-10	42
	Ser	.77	.56	+21	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Bolivia	Ag	.26	.46	-20	
	Ind	.18	.19	- 1	42
	Ser	.56	.35	+21	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Brazil	Ag	.27	.36	- 9	
	Ind	.13	.23	-10	38
	Ser	.60	.41	+19	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Chile	Ag	.03	.21	-18	
	Ind	.19	.27	- 8	52
	Ser	.78	.52	+26	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Ecuador	Ag	.12	.46	-34	
	Ind	.21	.17	+ 4	68
	Ser	.67	.37	+30	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Paraguay	Ag	.13	.49	-36	
	Ind	.28	.18	+10	72
	Ser	.59	.33	+26	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Venezuela	Ag	.04	.17	-13	
	Ind	.19	.28	- 9	44
	Ser	.77	.55	+22	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
El Salvador	Ag	.14	.41	-27	
	Ind	.21	.20	+ 1	54
	Ser	.65	.39	+26	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Guatemala	Ag	.07	.58	-51	
	Ind	.22	.18	+ 4	102
	Ser	.71	.24	+47	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Honduras	Ag	.08	.61	-53	
	Ind	.28	.16	+12	106
	Ser	.64	.23	+41	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Mexico	Ag	.15	.40	-25	
	Ind	.23	.25	- 2	54
	Ser	.62	.35	+27	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Nicaragua	Ag	.15	.42	-27	
	Ind	.21	.22	- 1	56
	Ser	.64	.36	+28	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Jamaica	Ag	.18	.29	-11	
	Ind	.09	.16	- 7	36
	Ser	.73	.55	+18	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
Trinidad & Tobogo	Ag	.09	.12	- 3	
	Ind	.24	.39	-15	36
	Ser	.67	.49	+18	
		(1.00)	(1.00)		
					($\bar{x}$ = 58)

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a/ Ag = Agriculture (includes agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing)

Ind = Industry (includes mining and quarrying; manufacturing; electricity, gas and water; construction)

Serv = Services (includes wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels; transport, storage and communication; financing, insurance, real estate and business services; community, social and and personal services; and activities not adequately described)

b/ Distributions computed on the basis of figures obtained from:
International Labour Office 1979. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1979. Geneva: Table 2A.
--- 1978. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1978. Geneva: Table 2A.

c/ See text for explanation of the Total Deviation.

given sector from the proportion of the female labor force in the same sector; and (ii) summing the absolute value of the difference for all sectors in each country. This final number represents the "total deviation"[13] of the female labor force distribution from the overall labor force distribution.

A glance at the mean "total deviations" by region shows that the Latin American and Middle Eastern countries by far have the highest deviations in the distribution of the female labor force relative to the total labor force (58 and 42 respectively). However, while in Latin America this is because women are consistently under represented in the agricultural sector (due to underenumeration in the unpaid family worker category) and over represented in the service sector, the pattern is not as consistent in the Middle East where women are variously over and under represented in all three sectors, depending on individual countries. For example, figures for Syria show that the distribution of the female labor force is skewed so that women are proportionately over represented in both the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, whereas in Egypt, women are proportionately under represented in both these sectors. Although the Asian countries show the lowest total deviation in sectoral distribution between female and total labor force (16), it is nevertheless clear that the sectoral distributions for women are quite different. Again, there does not appear to be any pattern to the sectoral over or under representation. Unfortunately, the limited data available for Africa precludes any meaningful discussion.

Individual countries reporting the highest "total deviation" index are Honduras (106); Guatemala (102) and Paraguay (72). Labor market conditions in these countries are likely to be quite different for women workers than for the total number of workers. The lowest "total deviation" indices are reported in Asia, specifically Indonesia (4); Thailand (6); and Singapore (12). On the basis of this data, it would appear that labor market conditions for women in Asia are rather similar to those of all workers while in Latin America and the Middle East they are not. However, as pointed out earlier the lower deviation in Asia may be partly due to a more accurate count of women workers in the agricultural sector as compared to the undercount of female agricultural workers in the Middle East and Latin America (Buvinic 1978; Youssef 1980).

D. Sex Differences in Employment Status Among Economically Active Workers

Table IV shows sex differences in employment status in 12 countries by presenting the frequency distribution of workers according to their employment status in the agricultural and non-agricultural labor force. The following categories are identified: employee, unpaid family worker and other (which includes employers, own account workers and others).

In comparing women and men, the data reports that in 9 of the 12 countries, the proportion in the "unpaid family worker" category within the female economically active population is greater than the corresponding proportion among the males who are economically active. The incidence of unpaid women workers is greatest in Iran (.32), Libya (.37), Korea (.30), and Thailand (.51). The data also shows that when women are unpaid family workers, they are most likely to be in agriculture, whereas men are most likely to be in the non-agricultural sector.

In six countries (most in Asia and the Middle East) the proportion of women workers in the "employee" category is lower than that of men. By contrast, in five countries (most in Latin America) women are proportionately

Table IV: DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SECTOR FOR FEMALES AND MALES, c. 1975.

Region/ Country and Sex	Sector	Employment Status a/				Total b/ Deviation (between women and men)
		Employee	Unpaid Family Worker	Other	Total	
MIDDLE EAST						
Iran						
women	ag	.05	.09	.16	.30	52
	non-ag	.34	.23	.13	.70	
	total	.39	.32	.29	1.00	
men	ag	.07	.05	.27	.39	
	non-ag	.43	.01	.17	.61	
	total	.50	.06	.44	1.00	
Libya						
women	ag	.01	.35	.02	.38	70
	non-ag	.56	.02	.04	.62	
	total	.57	.37	.06	1.00	
men	ag	.07	.02	.12	.21	
	non-ag	.64	.00	.15	.79	
	total	.71	.02	.27	1.00	
LATIN AMERICA						
Bolivia						
women	ag	.01	.13	.12	.26	20
	non-ag	.39	.02	.33	.74	
	total	.40	.15	.45	1.00	
men	ag	.07	.07	.38	.52	
	non-ag	.31	.00	.17	.48	
	total	.38	.07	.55	1.00	
Brazil						
women	ag	.06	.16	.05	.27	24
	non-ag	.59	.02	.12	.73	
	total	.65	.18	.17	1.00	
men	ag	.13	.10	.16	.40	
	non-ag	.46	.01	.13	.60	
	total	.60	.11	.29	1.00	
Chile						
women	ag	.01	.00	.02	.03	42
	non-ag	.48	.01	.48	.97	
	total	.49	.01	.50	1.00	
men	ag	.17	.02	.08	.27	
	non-ag	.52	.00	.21	.73	
	total	.69	.02	.29	1.00	
Honduras						
women	ag	.05	.01	.02	.08	42
	non-ag	.58	.04	.30	.92	
	total	.63	.05	.32	1.00	
men	ag	.20	.16	.34	.70	
	non-ag	.22	.01	.07	.30	
	total	.42	.17	.41	1.00	
Venezuela						
women	ag	.01	.02	.01	.04	24
	non-ag	.71	.04	.21	.96	
	total	.72	.06	.22	1.00	
men	ag	.08	.03	.11	.22	
	non-ag	.54	.01	.23	.78	
	total	.62	.04	.34	1.00	
ASIA						
India						
women	ag	.02	.01	.80	.83	14
	non-ag	.09	.03	.05	.17	
	total	.11	.04	.85	1.00	
men	ag	.01	.01	.68	.70	
	non-ag	.17	.03	.10	.30	
	total	.18	.04	.78	1.00	
Korea						
women	ag	.05	.30	.08	.43	60
	non-ag	.31	.08	.18	.57	
	total	.36	.38	.26	1.00	
men	ag	.05	.07	.21	.33	
	non-ag	.46	.01	.20	.67	
	total	.51	.08	.41	1.00	
Philippines						
women	ag	.06	.23	.06	.35	36
	non-ag	.37	.06	.22	.65	
	total	.43	.29	.28	1.00	
men	ag	.09	.16	.35	.60	
	non-ag	.28	.01	.11	.40	
	total	.37	.17	.46	1.00	
Thailand						
women	ag	.05	.40	.14	.59	70
	non-ag	.15	.11	.15	.41	
	total	.20	.51	.29	1.00	
men	ag	.06	.14	.44	.64	
	non-ag	.21	.02	.13	.36	
	total	.27	.16	.57	1.00	

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a/ Distribution of workers by employment status computed on the basis of data from: International Labour Office, 1979. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1979. Geneva: Table 2A.

____________________, 1978. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1978. Geneva: Table 2A.

b/ See text for explanation of Total Deviation.

more represented in the "employee" category than men. Both female and male workers in the "employee" category are more likely to be in the non-agricultural sector.

In the majority of countries, both women and men workers tend to be most frequently in the "employee" category. However, in Thailand women workers are more concentrated in the unpaid worker category in the agricultural sector, while men are more concentrated in the "other", i.e., "own account worker" and "employer" category. In India, both men and women are most heavily represented as "own account workers" and "employers".

The male/female differential in employment status is represented by the "total deviation" which is calculated by: (i) subtracting the proportion of men in a given employment status category from the proportion of women in the same category; and (ii) summing the absolute value of the differences for all categories in each country.

The "deviations" for the 12 countries range from 14 to 70, with an average deviation of 38. Thailand and Libya have the highest deviations (both 70) and India and Bolivia the lowest (14 and 20 respectively). On the basis of the small number of countries for which data is available we can suggest that the deviations between the employment status of women and men appear to be greatest in the Middle East (61) and Asia (45) and lowest in Latin America (24). In Latin America the deviation appears to be due to the higher representation of women workers in the "employee" category, while in Asia and the Middle East, it is accounted for by the higher representation of women workers in the "unpaid" family worker category.

In sum, this data supports the contention that women contribute to the economy largely through their participation as unpaid family workers and that their relative participation in various employment categories is significantly different from that of men.

E. The Estimated Contribution of Women to GDP

The contribution of women to overall GDP, adjusted for the sectoral distribution of their employment is estimated in Table V for 29 countries on the basis of c. 1975 data. This estimate is calculated by: (i) multiplying the proportion of women workers in a given sector by the proportional contribution of that sector to GDP (for example in Thailand, women make up 37% of the agricultural labor force; agriculture accounts for 27% of GDP. Thus, women's contribution to GDP through agricultural employment is estimated to be (37%) X (27%) or 10%. Of course, this assumes equal output per worker in each sector);and (ii) adding up women's estimated contribution in all sectors to obtain their estimated contribution to total GDP.

Table V shows that in most countries, the contribution of women to GDP is roughly the same as the proportion of women workers represented in the labor force. In Indonesia, for instance, women comprise 33% of the total labor force; after adjusting for variations in their participation in the agriculture, industry and service sectors, women's contribution to GDP is estimated to be 33%. This seems to be the general pattern displayed in most of the Asian and Middle Eastern countries, but is not true of Latin America. Here, the data show that more often than not women's contributions to GDP is greater than their proportion of the total labor force. In Honduras, for example, women are estimated to contribute 26% of GDP, while they comprise only 15% of the labor force. Conversely. the data available for two African countries show that women's contri-

Table V: FEMALE EMPLOYMENT, DISTRIBUTION OF GDP AND ESTIMATED FEMALE CONTRIBUTION TO GDP BY SECTOR. C 1975.

Region/ Country	Sector [a]	(1) [b] Proportion Labor Force Female	(2) [c] Distribution GDP	(col 1 X col 2) Estimated Female Contribution to GDP
AFRICA				
Cameroon	ag	.47	.32	.15
	ind	.15	.21	.03
	serv	.20	.47	.09
	total	(.40)	(1.00)	.27
Liberia	ag	.31	.30	.09
	ind	.03	.40	.01
	serv	.19	.30	.05
	total	(.27)	(1.00)	.15
				($\bar{x}$ = .21)
MIDDLE EAST				
Egypt	ag	.03	.28	.01
	ind	.05	.30	.02
	serv	.14	.42	.06
	total	(.08)	(1.00)	.09
Iran	ag	.12	.10	.01
	ind	.22	.55	.12
	serv	.12	.35	.04
	total	(.15)	(1.00)	.17
Libya	ag	.11	.03	.04
	ind	.02	.71	.01
	serv	.07	.26	.02
	total	(.07)	(1.00)	.07
Tunisia	ag	.13	.17	.02
	ind	.30	.32	.09
	serv	.16	.51	.08
	total	(.19)	(1.00)	.19
Turkey	ag	.50	.28	.14
	ind	.12	.25	.03
	serv	.11	.47	.05
	total	(.36)	(1.00)	.22
Syria	ag	.21	.17	.03
	ind	.15	.14	.02
	serv	.09	.69	.06
	total	(.14)	(1.00)	.11
				($\bar{x}$ = .14)

Region/ Country	Sector	(1) Proportion Labor Force Female	(2) Distribution GDP	(col 1 X col 2) Estimated Female Contribution to GDP
ASIA				
Bangladesh	ag	.04	.55	.02
	ind	.03	.13	.01
	serv	.06	.32	.08
	total	(.04)	(1.00)	.11
Hong Kong	ag	.33	.02	.01
	ind	.41	.31	.13
	serv	.27	.67	.18
	total	(.35)	(1.00)	.32
India	ag	.20	.37	.07
	ind	.07	.25	.02
	serv	.23	.38	.09
	total	(.17)	(1.00)	.18
Indonesia	ag	.32	.31	.09
	ind	.33	.34	.11
	serv	.36	.35	.13
	total	(.33)	(1.00)	.33
Korea	ag	.44	.27	.12
	ind	.32	.35	.11
	serv	.36	.38	.14
	total	(.38)	(1.00)	.37
Philippines	ag	.24	.29	.07
	ind	.35	.35	.12
	serv	.52	.36	.19
	total	(.35)	(1.00)	.38
Singapore	ag	.27	.02	.01
	ind	.38	.35	.13
	serv	.31	.63	.20
	total	(.33)	(1.00)	.34
Thailand	ag	.37	.27	.10
	ind	.42	.29	.12
	serv	.40	.44	.18
	total	(.38)	(1.00)	.40
				($\bar{x}$ = .30)

Table V: (cont.)

Region/ Country	Sector	(1) Proportion Labor Force Female	(2) Distribution GDP	(col 1 X col 2) Estimated Female Contribution to GDP
LATIN AMERICA				
Argentina	ag	.07	.13	.01
	ind	.17	.45	.07
	serv	.34	.42	.14
	total	(.25)	(1.00)	.22
Bolivia	ag	.13	.17	.02
	ind	.21	.29	.06
	serv	.36	.54	.19
	total	(.22)	(1.00)	.27
Brazil	ag	.21	.12	.02
	ind	.16	.37	.06
	serv	.43	.51	.21
	total	(.29)	(1.00)	.29
Chile	ag	.03	.10	.01
	ind	.16	.29	.05
	serv	.34	.61	.21
	total	(.23)	(1.00)	.27
Ecuador	ag	.05	.20	.01
	ind	.21	.36	.08
	serv	.31	.44	.14
	total	(.17)	(1.00)	.23
Paraguay	ag	.06	.35	.02
	ind	.33	.22	.07
	serv	.39	.43	.29
	total	(.29)	(1.00)	.26
Venezuela	ag	.06	.06	.01
	ind	.19	.17	.03
	serv	.38	.77	.29
	total	(.27)	(1.00)	.33
El Salvador	ag	.10	.30	.03
	ind	.33	.21	.07
	serv	.54	.49	.26
	total	(.32)	(1.00)	.36
Honduras	ag	.02	.32	.01
	ind	.27	.27	.07
	serv	.43	.41	.18
	total	(.15)	(1.00)	.26
Mexico	ag	.09	.10	.01
	ind	.23	.36	.08
	serv	.43	.54	.23
	total	(.24)	(1.00)	.32
Nicaragua	ag	.11	.23	.03
	ind	.28	.26	.08
	serv	.52	.51	.27
	total	(.30)	(1.00)	.38
Jamaica	ag	.28	.09	.03
	ind	.26	.37	.10
	serv	.63	.54	.34
	total	(.47)	(1.00)	.47
Trinidad & Tobogo	ag	.23	.03	.01
	ind	.19	.62	.12
	serv	.41	.35	.14
	total	(.30)	(1.00)	.27

($\bar{x}$ = .30)

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a/ Refer to note (a), Table III.

b/ Proportion Labor Force Female computed on the basis of data from: International Labour Office, 1979. Yearbook of Labour Statististics 1979. Geneva: Table 2A.
-------- , 1978. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1978. Geneva: Table 2A.

c/ Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from: World Bank 1979. World Development Report: Annex World Development Indicators. Table 9.

bution to GDP is less than women's proportion in the total labor force. This may in part be due to the high representation of African women in the agricultural labor force relative to their participation in other (more productive) sectors.

III. CONSTRAINTS ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Three inter-related forces condition and structure the position of women in the labor market:

a. the supply factors that influence whether women are available for wage labor outside the household.

b. the specific structure of the economy which conditions the demand for workers in the labor market.

c. the implicit and explicit policies regarding the inclusion/exclusion of women in the labor market as reflected in hiring practices, segregation of jobs by sex, earnings/wage structure, etc.

The tendency in the development literature has been to over emphasize sociocultural determinants, particularly as these operate to restrict the supply of women available for work, and single these out as major causes for the low participation and marginal status of women in the work force of developing countries.

Relatively little systematic attention has been devoted to identifying structural properties in developing economics that are associated with low levels of demand for women workers, nor to an assessment of how practices of statistical discrimination[14] operate to curtail the access of women to work opportunities[15].

A. Labor Supply: The Over-Rated Variable in the Employment Equation

In this section the supply and demand conditions influencing women's employment and work in the Third World are examined. With respect to supply conditions, three major questions arise: How restricted is the supply of women? Who and what determine this restriction? What are the consequences of this restriction?

How Restricted Is Women's Labor Supply: Who and What Determine It?

Three major forces interacting to influence the supply of women to wage employment outside the home will be discussed:

1. The particular position women occupy in the household, which is dependent on household composition, family structure and organization.
2. The culturally defined sexual division of labor in market production.
3. The resources women bring to the labor market, i.e., education, training, on-the-job experience, to the extent that these enable them to respond to labor market demands.

1. Women's Position in the Family and Female Labor Supply

It is assumed that family organization has powerful sources of resistance to women's work patterns and acts as a restrictive force to curtail female employment. The influence of marital status and fertility as major conditions controlling the supply of women available to the labor market has been heavily emphasized in the development literature. The contention that woman's first responsibility is to her home and immediate family means that the course women take with respect to work depends on the adjustments made between the organization of the economy and the prevailing family system. It is argued that as a result of effective socialization women have internalized the image society holds. This image varies from the "expectation" that women should not work at all; should not work once married; and/or should not work if she has children. If women seek employment, they regard work "exclusively as a means of overcoming the economic problems of the home", defining it as temporary in relation to her major ambition which is exclusive dedication to the home (CEPAL 1974).

These arguments have generated a series of assumptions regarding women's behavior. Although these have not been verified, they are drawn upon to:

(1) explain women's marginal position in the employment/ structure (i.e., low employment, exclusion from the modern sector; high concentration in low-status low paying jobs), as a voluntary choice women make in order to be able to meet family obligations.

(2) validate the uni-dimensional image that employers have of women as mothers/housewives, which gives rise to and considerably influences the practice of statistical discrimination in hiring, wage structure and job sex-segregation practices[16].

In the first instance policy formulation has emphasized that women's familial role curtails her availability for work rather than that little demand for married women or women with children cause low level employment among women.

In the second instance, assumptions are made that women workers are less committed to the job than men; that they place priority on home responsibilities; and that they have high rates of absenteeism and turnover due to family-related events (marriage, motherhood). In short, women are not reliable and are a bad investment-if not always with respect to initial hiring-then for on-the-job-training opportunities, promotion, etc.

The uni-dimensional view of women as wives/mothers also fosters the image of men as primary workers and the consequent notion that women function in the labor force temporarily as secondary earners when husbands' earnings are reduced or they have lost their jobs.

The reality of women's life is quite different. From an opportunity cost perspective, the extension of the uni-dimensional wife/mother view of women to all women neglects the growing phenomenon of woman-headed households, and that there are differing forms of family structure than the Western nuclear model which free women from home/childcare responsibilities. Furthermore, within the pool of the adult female population there are young and older single women who are either childless or whose children do not need maternal supervision.

The incompatability between the mother and worker roles is put to serious questioning. In Thailand gainful work for women and a combined worker-mother role are the norm (Cook 1975). In West African societies women who bear children do not bear the full responsibility of rearing them (Ware 1977; Oppong 1973).

The recent findings of a positive relationship between wage employment and fertility among low-income groups clearly suggest that the need for additional earnings has a stimulative effect and dominates over the negative influence of childcare on women's work participation. In Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Peru, female participation rates increased between 1960-1970 in the 25-44 age groups which coincide with child rearing.

Participation was found to be highest among women from low income groups with large numbers of children (PREALC 1978).

For women surviving at subsistence levels, low wages reflect low opportunity costs; when wages are barely at subsistence level, the opportunity costs may be very high (Wolf 1979).

The presence of young children was shown in several instances not to affect the kind of work women engage in or whether or not they work near or away from home (Pecht 1978). Extended family networks in Latin American cities enable needy women with young children to work in the modern sector of the economy and to put in as many hours of work as women who have no children (Peeks 1978). In San Salvador specifically, consanguineal household arrangements permit women to delegate childcare responsibilities to other adult female members of the domestic group and to obtain employment (Nieves 1979).

In many parts of South and Southeast Asia, despite high fertility rates and the presence of young children in the home, women's work participation and active job seeking in the market economy is noted to be high (Dixon 1978; Stoler 1977; Mencher and D'Amico 1979; Das Gupta 1976; Cain 1978; and Qureshi 1977).

Among Javanese women in non-agricultural employment, for example, those with children ages 10 and over work 8.2 hours daily as compared to 7.8 hours among women who have no children (Peluso 1978).

2. Cultural Prescriptions and Job Segregation: Their Impact on the Supply of Female Labor

Labor markets display, in varying degrees, patterns of labor market job segregation based on sex. Such segregation is validated and perpetuated by cultural prescriptions regarding job appropriateness for each sex and the claim that such an organizing principle is an innocuous accommodation of women's child rearing roles.

The fact that women are thereby not allowed access to certain sectors of employment obviously restricts the supply of labor. Furthermore, it is also clear that the degree of labor market segregation is a highly successful mechanism for perpetuating the economic marginality of women in the production process.

These are some of the consequences for women of a sex-segregated occupational system:

1. The reinforcement of the traditional spatial and symbolic boundaries of women's activities;[17] the limitation of opportunities, through a lack of policy interventions to expand women's income earning capacity.

2. Reduction of women's opportunities to find wage employment. Wage employment demand generated by male sources is greater than that generated by female sources.[18] This is because men's activities in sectors such as agriculture are more constant throughout the year, whereas women's are dependent on specific peak seasons for employment.

3. The assignment to women of those types of jobs that are the dullest, the hardest, and the worst paid.[19]

The notion that a female monopoly over a productive sector necessarily bestows upon her a source of strength and power is open to question. Thus, it is argued, that the often cited example of the African womens' monopoly over the farming and marketing system has been at the expense of her exclusion from education, modern sector employment, farm mechanization, etc. If only men take the step from family production to specialized production, while women continue in the traditional/subsistence areas only, women's contribution to local and national economies becomes highly questionable (Huntington 1975).

However, cultural prescriptions regarding job appropriateness for each sex are not immovable. Ideal behavior does not always correspond with real, observed behavior. Examples from several countries illustrate how cultural conceptions of job appropriateness for each sex offer little resistance to structural changes brought about by technological innovations and modernization processes. Jobs once exclusively the domain of males are, through increased male labor shortages, redefined as female. Furthermore, the economic needs of individuals and households is great enough to overcome cultural proscriptions and disregard sexual stereotypes in occupations. A case in point is rural Bangladesh where the economic need of the poorest families, most of them headed by women, is so overwhelming as to force women to break purdah restrictions and enter occupations which are typically male, such as selling in the bazaars and hiring themselves out as field hands in spite of psychological and social costs (Cain, et al. 1979).

The exigencies of capitalistic development in redefining types of work considered appropriate for women is also reflected in two Latin American countries in which women have been pushed by economic need into previously held "male occupations." thus breaking down the cultural assumption of a rigid sexual division of labor. In particular zones in Colombia noted for recent heavy male outmigration, women have now taken over the coffee haciendas--a sector which 17 years ago was still taboo to women because it was believed that "women would infect the crops" (Leon de Leal and Deere 1979). In Minas Jerais, Brazil, men have been moving into higher paying sectors since 1978 (construction, railroad building, etc.) and women now fill such previously male-dominated jobs as street cleaners, bricklayer assistants, etc. By 1976 women's entry into "male domains" had become so significant that the Minister of Labor, on the request of employers, removed from the labor legislation the clause prohibiting women from performing night work (Merrick and Schmink 1978).

Often cultural definitions of what is sexually appropriate work are blatantly at odds with the real demands of the jobs in question. An example from Nigeria makes this clear. In the construction industry, demand for women's labor is limited, ostensibly because of the heavy and dangerous work involved. Men are hired to lay the bricks, but the few women who are also hired are immediately channelled into associated tasks that are thought to be adequate for women but pay less: they haul and carry on their heads pots of heavy, wet cement (Debo Akande 1979).

In Yemen, economic need has been shown to outweigh strict female seclusion norms. Chinese textile factories set up in Yemen were met with extreme skepticism by the Yemen government regarding the feasibility of implementing China's stipulation that only women be recruited as factory workers. The assumption was that Islamic cultural constraints on women were too strong to overcome. The Chinese launched a massive radio campaign to recruit women and on the first day of recruitment 600 Yemen women presented themselves; the majority were women heads of household (Hammam 1979).

Caution must be exercised against perceiving in such changes the eventual disappearance of a sex-segregated occupational structure. Although it may become acceptable for women to enter a variety of "male" occupations, such changes are often specific to particular situations and dictated by immediate needs. Generally, the occupational structure continues to remain sex segregated and women continue to be assigned to low status and the lowest paid jobs.

3. The Effect of Education and Training on the Female Labor Supply

The female labor supply is not restricted by women's lack of education/training. However, the lack of such resources is a highly successful mechanism to perpetuate relegation of women to low status-lowest paying jobs.

Two predominant trends emerge from the observed relationship between women's education and work in poor countries: the first is a positive relationship; increases in levels of education correlate positively with increases in participation in the work force. However, these results are based on education-specific activity rates computed from reported labor force data; as such they exclude many uneducated workers in the non-wage, informal sector of the economy who are not reported as economically active. This exclusion minimizes the actual number of women with little or no education who are working.

When consideration is given to working women with low levels of education as well as women's economic activities in non-wage sectors of the economy, a second trend emerges; a U-shaped or non-linear curve suggesting that women with little education have higher rates of work participation than those with somewhat more education; but beyond a certain point the relationship is again positive. Given that the poorest of women enter into a diverse range of economic activities to support a subsistence existence, it is to be expected that the least educated would constitute a large proportion of the labor force. At the same time, the few women with high levels of education are in great demand (besides having a competitive advantage) and thus have access to opportunities for high paying wage or salary employment (Standing 1978).

Analyses of women in the labor force based on education and wage employment figures at the neglect of non-wage activities obsure the actual extent of women's economic activities. Secondly, the small proportion of educated women currently in the work force perpetuates the limited access women have to education and training. This small proportion coupled with a scarcity of women's training programs and on-the-job experiences reinforces the belief that women's economic contribution is slight, their productivity low, and their commitment to work weaker than men's. In other words, women are viewed as a poor investment. This belief in turn prevents the development of training programs and further limits women's access to education. A vicious circle of discrimination develops which continually forces women into low status, marginal positions (Standing 1978).

In addition, low wage rates may in some instances limit the size of the female labor supply, particularly for women who are better off economically. Very poor women, on the other hand, have no choice but to accept low wages.

There are other factors that interact to restrict the number of women available for wage employment outside the home. Among these are: distance to the work place and lack of adequate transportation.

B. Levels of Demand for Women Workers: The Real Source of Constraints

The previous section examines some of the conventional wisdom regarding restrictions in the supply of women workers to the labor market. The present section will begin with a brief discussion of some of the economic theories of labor market discrimination which basically argue that, in general, labor markets are not competitive either because monopoly conditions exist or because in dual labor markets, the primary sector has barriers which restrict free entry. Subsequent sections will add to these arguments by further showing how unemployment among males restricts the demand for women workers; how modernization processes interact with labor markets to restrict the demand for women workers; and how protective legislation for women effectively restricts their entry into certain types of occupations and makes employers institute discriminatory hiring practices.

1. General Economic Theories of Labor Market Discrimination

A variety of economic theories have been developed to explain the persistence of labor market discrimination. However, efforts to explain the continuing existence of discrimination on the assumption that competitive market conditions exist have not met with a great deal of success. This has led to the development of alternative labor market theories and to relaxation of the assumption of perfect competition in neoclassical theory.

It is perhaps useful at the outset to distinguish between pre-market and post-market discrimination. Pre-market discrimination exists when one group does not have access to those factors (such as education, training, experience, etc.) which increase human capital and enhance their marginal product. Post-market discrimination exists when individuals having similar amounts of human capital receive dissimilar wages for their labor.

The persistence of pre-market discrimination can be due to a variety of factors. A social structure which encourages the education and training of one group relative to another is one factor.[20] Additionally since the acquisition of skills and training requires giving up current income and money resources in favor of a higher future income, individuals without access to the necessary financial resources may not be able to acquire the skills necessary to compete in the semi-skilled and skilled labor markets.

Several theoretical approaches have been taken to explain the persistence of post-market discrimination (Becker 1974). Traditional neoclassical economic theory is perhaps the least satisfactory explanation for the continuing existence of large wage differentials between groups. This is because it views the economy as essentially competitive with entrepreneurs attempting to maximize profits. If employers did maximize profits they would have to minimize the cost of producing any given level of output or else be undersold and driven out of the market firms that did not discriminate. Given that discrimination does in fact exist, either firms have different production functions or there are non-competitive elements in the market.

The first attempt to formalize an economic theory of discrimination, (Becker 1964) was based on the argument that discrimination exists if individuals are willing to forego money income to avoid working with, for, or employing a particular type of labor. The greater the degree of monopoly power, the greater the ability of employers to discriminate. What this approach does point out, however, is that the total level of output in an economy is lower when there is discrimination than when there is not.

Another approach to explaining market discrimination is the dual theory of the labor market (Cain 1975, Gordon 1972; and Doeringer and Poire 1971). This approach has often been advanced to explain the existence of large wage differentials between workers with the same skills in under developed countries. Workers in the primary market are protected from competition by those in the secondary market through monopoly power of employers. High levels of unemployment in the primary labor market can exist if workers in the lower paid market are willing to give up their jobs to search and wait for an employment opportunity to open up in the protected sector. Since the primary market in developing countries is often substantially more capital intensive than the unprotected sector, a worker's marginal value product and hence his/her wage could be substantially higher in the protected than in the unprotected sector.

These theories explain how labor market discrimination occurs in general; they do not provide full insight into why women-as a particular subgroup-are discriminated against.[21] Subsequent sections identify some of the specific factors in the labor markets of developing countries which discriminate against women.

2. The Surplus of Male Labor and Its Impact Upon the Demand for Women Workers

There are specific processes intrinsic to modernization which increase the supply of male labor, namely:

Third World countries are experiencing capitalist development in their cities and key resource sectors, while in the countryside, cash crops are replacing subsistence agriculture without major reforms in land tenure arrangements. This has led to a surplus labor population, particularly where plow cultivation is the agricultural base, with high numbers of under and unemployed males. This is particularly true of Latin America and Asia, but less so of Sub Saharan Africa where the traditional subsistence base still is hoe horticulture. Furthermore, given the vagaries of the commodity cycle in world markets and the small size of many countries' modern industrial and frequently capitalist export-oriented sector, urban jobs are short in supply for the number of men who are searching for employment.

In addition, low income economies with considerable small-scale self-employment both in agriculture and in other industries, experience fluctuations in the derived demand for labor which generally take the form of fluctuations in the production and prices of marketable output. When decline occurs in prices and output or there are rises in costs of imported inputs, small-scale producers are compelled to curb production, to incur debts, and are forced to sell land or other productive assets. The effect of this is to drive worker families out of self-employment into unemployment or wage-earning positions. In the long run, such slumps tie workers and their families more tightly to complete dependency on the wage system, thus increasing the pool of labor supply.

The surplus male labor thus generated results in high levels of unemployment. The persistance of such a condition becomes a critical component in the dynamic interaction between sex-specific supply and demand factors. Discrimination against women workers is rationalized on the grounds that where there is high unemployment, female employment would push up the male unemployment rate. Thus, high male unemployment levels are expected to mitigate against female employment and contribute to the growth of sexual dualism, particularly where female labor force commitment is lower than male, and where female labor turnover is greater (Standing 1978).

Empirically, overall unemployment in developing economies has shown to have two opposite effects on women's employment. In several studies in which aggregate level labor force data is analyzed, high overall unemployment rates have a significant negative effect on female participation rates (Puerto Rico 1950-1960; Thailand 1960; India, the Philippines and West Bengal). In other instances, and particularly where subgroups of women from relatively low income families are surveyed, the unemployment rate is found to be positively related to the weekly number of hours worked by the wife (Philippines; Malaysia; Colombia). This is consistent with the hypothesis that among low income families, greater overall unemployment means more husbands are unemployed and wives have to work longer to compensate for the loss. For example, it was male unemployment in Malaysia that forced many women to seek employment in multi national corporations to partially or totally support their families or themselves (Lim 1978). In Bogota, overall unemployment increases were positively related to young (15-19) and older (45-49) women's participation rates.

Widespread discrimination against women workers in times of high unemployment has fostered sexual dualism. The dualistic nature of labor markets in developing societies coupled with women's limited access to education and training increasingly restricts the demand for women workers to secondary jobs. This is legitimized/perpetuated by the expectation that women are secondary wage earners. The probability of women's work participation is seen only as a response to the unanticipated fall of the family's prime worker (i.e., the male).

Lack of training and on-the-job experience keep women's productivity low, thus allowing initial sex discrimination to be reinforced by statistical discrimination. Employers come to regard women workers generally as having a lower degree of work commitment than men, so they discriminate against women in general and screen workers on the basis of sex, preferring to hire men even if individual women do have education, training and labor force commitment (Standing 1978).

3. Capital Intensive Development: How it Restricts the Quantity and Quality of Women's Employment Opportunities

It is by now well recognized that the process of socio-economic development is reducing the economic opportunities of women. It does so in several ways: by destroying traditional means and relations of production; by introducing capital intensive technology into the agricultural sphere and commercializing agricultural production for export purposes; by creating capital intensive rather than labor intensive productive arrangements in manufacturing; and by maintaining a sex-segregated labor market which has no need for female labor in the industrial sectors of production. The result of these interacting forces is that women are pushed out of agriculture and are prevented from entering the industrial and manufacturing sector as wage workers. The squeeze, coming from both directions, increasingly relegates women to the only remaining sector: the tertiary sector and thus, into the informal labor market. The nature and characteristics of women's over-representation in the informal labor market is dealt with in subsequent sections. Here, we attempt to illustrate through specific case examples how these economic transformations squeeze women out of most productive activities and remunerated positions.

The displacement of women workers from agriculture is the combined result of several factors, including:

(a) generally depressed conditions in the agricultural sector (low productivity, low prices, low wages);

(b) increased landlessness (especially among the poor), land fragmentation, and population growth in rural areas (Stoler 1977; Meesook 1975, Youssef 1980).

(c) limited opportunities for women as agricultural wage laborers (Ryan and Ghodake 1979; Deere 1977; Peluso 1978; Youssef 1980).

(d) the introduction of capital intensive, rather than labor intensive technologies, particularly in those tasks traditionally performed by women (the introduction of rice mills in Java, for example, is estimated to have displaced 1.2 million women from their jobs according to Cain (1979) and in India, Papola (1978) shows that employment in agriculture fell from 21% to 9% between 1951 and 1971 as a result of the introduction of capital intensive technology).

(e) development of commercial production processes which utilize male labor (for example, in Java while local women traditionally have been hired to harvest rice, land owners, in recent years, have begun to sell their crops to middlemen before they are harvested. They, in turn, contract male laborers from outside the village to come in and harvest these crops.)

The operation and affect of these factors can be seen through an example from Latin America where in the 1960s about 60% of rural families had some access to land resources. Among these families income was usually supplemented by having some members, primarily women and children, seek seasonal wage employment during periods of peak agricultural activity, e.g., during the harvest time. Since then, agriculture in Latin America has become increasingly commercialized through capital intensive crop production and through the introduction of technology. The opportunities for seasonal employment for women and children have disappeared as male laborers and machines have replaced them. With diminished access to land, peasant families used to rely on women's seasonal employment to supplement their incomes. Seasonal unemployment among women is now a major problem for these landless families (PREALC 1978).

Specific national studies in Paraguay (Silva et al. 1975) and Guatemala (Chinchilla 1977) have further documented this and other aspects of the squeeze described above.

In general, these trends have been exacerbated by planning policies which during the 1950s and 1960s either neglected the agricultural sectors or were consciously designed to keep wages and prices low, thus discouraging investments and growth (UN 1978).

While overlooking the agricultural sector, planners were busy developing the industrial/manufacturing sectors. However, efforts have tended to focus more on the development of capital intensive rather than labor intensive industries and production processes, which has limited the general demand for labor in this sector, and in particular, female labor. In many cases this is due to the transfer of unadapted technologies from the West which tend to reflect the relatively capital abundant, and labor scarce environments of the developed world (Lim 1978).

The adverse effects of these policies on women is shown by evidence from several countries which demonstrates a relative decline over time of women's employment in manufacturing. In India, while total employment in factories has been increasing, women's employment in this sector has decreased from 11.4% in 1951 to 9.1% in 1971 (Papola 1978). Comparative data for Guatemala shows that while male workers have increased their participation in the manufacturing industrial sector (1.4% in 1950, 12.5% in 1965 and 17.5% in 1973), the proportion of women workers in this sector has declined from 28.1% in 1950 to 21.7% in 1973 (Chinchilla 1977). And in Colombia, women's participation in the industrial sector decreased from 36.4% to 12.5% between 1938 and 1973 (Leon de Leal 1977).

It is within the industrial manufacturing sector that under-representation of women workers is most striking. This is also the sector where there have been historical trends towards diminishing opportunities for women, especially as the production of crafts has been replaced by industry. Although there are very few studies linking the productive organization of manufacturing and technology to employment opportunities for women, the few that are available indicate that as technological innovation takes place and as there is a replacement of traditional manufacturing processes by capital-intensive industry, women are displaced and replaced by men. New industries hire men rather than women for the stated reason that women cannot provide a stable, committed labor force (Jelin 1979).

Further, data from Brazil (Bruschini 1979) shows that capitalist expansion has pushed both men and women out of agricultural activities over the last 30 years, but while men have been absorbed into a wide range of occupations in the secondary and tertiary sectors, women have been squeezed into an increasingly smaller number of occupations in the tertiary sector, which was already overburdened with women in 1950. Between 1950 and 1970, women's labor force participation in the industrial sector decreased by 5 percentage points (from 15.6% to 10.4%), while men's participation rate in the same sector rose by 7 points (from 13.1% to 20.1%). And while 22% of the non-agricultural female labor force was employed in industrial activities in 1950, by 1970 the figure had been reduced to 13%. In other words, the participation of women in non-agricultural labor force had been cut in half.

As women are pushed out of the agricultural sector and prevented from entering the industrial sector, they are squeezed into the only remaining sector of the economy which has any jobs to offer: the lower levels of the tertiary or service sector.

There is evidence from all regions of the Third World that women tend to concentrate in service occupations, that the percentage of women, although low in the labor force as a whole, is disproportionately high when one looks at the service sector in comparison to industry in general, and manufacturing in particular. In Colombia, between 1938 and 1973, women's labor force participation decreased substantially in the primary and secondary sectors (from 33.4% to 4% and from 36.4% to 12.5% respectively), while in the tertiary it increased from 29% to 44.8% (Lopez de Rodriguez and Leon de Leal 1977). As a consequence of monopoly capitalism, and capital intensive foreign investment in the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy, poor, uneducated Guatemalan women, particularly in urban areas, are confined in increasing numbers to the tertiary sector; 57% of the feminine labor force occupied this sector by 1950; by 1964 it was 66.5% and in 1973 it had reached 67.9% (Chinchilla 1977).

TABLE VI

Women in the service sector c. 1975 in percentages by world regions*

	Of the total Female Labor Force	Of the Total Labor Force in this Sector
Africa	12.5	19.5
Asia	33.9	31.4
Latin America	67.4	42.4
Middle East	38.0	11.5

*Calculated on the basis of individual country data appearing in Tables III and V.

The above table shows how in all regions except Africa, where women tend to concentrate in agriculture, more than a third, in one case more than two thirds, of working women are confined to service occupations. Care must be taken, however, in interpreting the data because census statistics subsume professional, white collar, and menial service occupations, including domestics, under the service sector. The figures on the Middle East might be the most misleading in this respect: most of the menial service work in Muslim Middle Eastern countries is done by men; women constitute only 17% of menial workers (domestics, cooks, and servants) in Syria, and 10% in Turkey and Libya (Youssef 1974). This points to the fact that in the Middle East, with the exception of Morocco, women who appear in the service sector may be mostly professional, middle and upper class women. Nevertheless, the data from Latin America does show quite dramatically how the ranks of women in the service sector are swollen by their entry into the lowest and most menial types of employment, primarily domestic employment. In the mid-sixties approximately 90% of domestic employees in Chile were women; in Colombia the figure was 80% and in Peru and Mexico, 68% (Youssef 1974). This point is developed further in the section on critical employment issues.

To complicate matters, development policies which give priority to the capital intensive expansion of the manufacturing industry are also displacing male workers, who then must seek employment in the only labor-intensive sector remaining--the already overburdened service sector. The Brazilian example used above also illustrates how the proportion of males has increased in the tertiary sector since 1950; males, however, did not begin to get squeezed into service occupations until well after it had become predominantly feminine, and do not, even today, enter the tertiary sector at the high rates women do (Bruschini 1979).

All these forces combined result in an overburdened and bottom heavy tertiary sector in which the jobs available are not enough to accommodate the supply of labor. Like a container packed under high pressure, the over supplied service sector needs a safety valve to compensate for the blocked entries into other sectors. It creates its own safety valve for expanding job opportunities by generating, parallel to the already saturated formal labor market, a less organized and regulated one--the informal labor market within the tertiary sector. It is the women in this sector who tend to be increasingly relegated to informal jobs which receive the lowest remunerations. While men do enter the informal labor market as well, they tend to do so by obtaining better paid jobs in construction and other fields offering higher status employment (Lubell and McCallum 1978; Fraenkel et al, 1975).

The position of women in the informal labor force is discussed in more detail below, as one of the critical employment issues for women. Here we provide a scattering of examples from Latin America and India to demonstrate that as women get further squeezed into the tertiary sector they increasingly become part of the informal labor market.

The size of the informal sectors in Bombay, Jakarta, Belo Horizonte, Lima and eight other Peruvian cities varies to engulf between 53% and 69% of the working population. Female workers and those who have not completed primary education are disproportionately represented in this sector. Merrick (1976) reveals that 54.1% of the workers in the informal sector in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, are women, as compared to 20% among the men. Even if the women working as domestics are excluded from the definition of informal sector, the sex differential continues to be strong; 40% of the remaining informal sector labor force and 60% of the self employed are women--against only 18% for the formal sector. In India, between 41% and 49% of the female labor force participates in the informal sector, while only 15% to 17% of the male labor force contributes to this sector (Mazumdar 1976, ICSSR 1975). In Salvador,and Bahia, Brazil, the proportion working in domestic service and petty production is 21% among males and 56.4% among women. For Mexico City, women were reported to make up 72% of all unskilled service workers (including domestics) (Arizpe 1977). In Peru, women make up 46% of the urban traditional sector; they only account for 18% of the modern sector. In Cordoba, Argentina, women constitute 63% of the informal sector (Jelin 1978).

Development planning and government policies which insist on expanding the industrial sector through capital intensive means are usually accompanied by a disregard for the tertiary sector and the informal labor market (PREALC 1978). Worse still, planning has neglected to consider the reality and implications of a sex-segregated occupational structure, for, as the following example shows, jobs which women are concentrated in are either actively or passively planned out of existence over time by a neglect to consider the impact on the informal tertiary sector. Given the high concentration of Ecuadorian women (80%) into 10 occupational categories in the 1970 labor force structure (most of which were in the service sector), development plans and policies that favored capital intensive production in the industrial sector would be expected, by 1980, to produce labor expansion in only 3 of these 10 mainly feminine occupations: own account retail businesses, sales and office clerks, and typists, cashiers and bank tellers. In this last category the demand for labor was expected to increase by 194%, but cashiers and bank tellers were 1% of employed women in 1970, and all three categories together constituted only one fifth of the female labor force. Jobs in primary school teaching and paramedical services which employed 9% of the female labor force in 1970 could be expected to increase by 60% by 1980, but depended on the government's willingness to integrate social programs into its plans for economic growth, a fact that seemed unlikely at the time the study was prepared (Finn and Junesius 1975). Although we do not actually know if the prediction bore out, the point stands that women were not included in the planning process.

4. Protective vs. Protectionist Legislation--How Great a Factor in Restricting Labor Demand for Women

No accurate measure exists to date of the degree to which legislation which is passed in order to protect women in the work place, or to protect women's reproductive function in society, has the inadvertant effect of restricting the demand for female labor. However, scattered examples are available of how protective legislation has a negative impact on women by:

a. Widening the opportunity gap between men and women workers;
b. Making certain jobs inaccessible to women, thereby reducing job availability for women and contributing to a sex-segregated occupational structure;
c. Creating reluctance and resistance among employers towards hiring women workers.

The International Labour Office endorses three separate international labor agreements which make the hiring of women for night shifts and holiday shifts in industry illegal. (Conventions Nos. 4 (1919), 41 (1934) and 89 (1948)) (ILO 1979). The last of these has been ratified by 20 of the 46 countries which are members of the Economic Commission for Africa, 9 of the 23 countries which are members of the Economic Commission for Latin America, 6 of the 12 Economic Commission for Western Asia members and 5 of the 21 nations belonging to the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. This effectively puts a ceiling on the hours women can work and the earnings they can get. The ILO (ibid) is now beginning to recognize the adverse effect these regulations have on women, and is encouraging some assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of protective legislation.

Nevertheless pieces of legislation which are restrictive of women's employment continue to be adopted. In 1976 Kuwait ratified a labor law making it compulsory for women employed in the private sector to have a nightly rest period of at least 11 hours (ILO 1979). Although this piece of legislation does not make explicit the prohibition on night work, it makes it impossible, as one cannot work and rest simultaneously. The ILO is of the opinion that the ratification of this convention is a good example of progress achieved for women in the last 5 years (ibid).

Some countries have repealed restrictive women's labor legislation. In Malaysia, for example, when electronics companies wanted to open plants in the country in 1970, the government took steps to make Malaysian women more attractive as potential employees by giving legal exemptions to the law that restricts women to working only the day shift (Grossman 1980). Similarly, the Brazilian government in 1976 responded positively to industrialists' demands that restrictions on women's employment after 10:00 p.m. be lifted; demands for female labor in the textile industry had increased sharply due to the sudden shortage of labor supply caused by men moving into the better paying construction industry (Merrick and Schmink 1978). The policy reversals were made for corporate economic gain in these cases, rather than to give women more economic freedom.

There are other types of legislation that attempt to protect women by preventing them from entering certain areas of employment. The ILO's Convention No. 45 which has been ratified by more than half of the member states of ECA, ECLA, ECWA and ESCAP combined, bars women from underground work on the basis that it demands great physical strength and is very dangerous (ILO 1979). In conjunction with other legal restrictions on women to participate in heavy, dangerous and health-risking occupations, these ILO conventions have created a body of protective and restrictive norms which effectively reduce women's employment possibilities and relegate them to lower paying jobs.[22]

Several protective measures are more protectionist than protective in character, based on sexual stereotypes and aimed at safeguarding women's morality. The structural consequences of these legal measures are to bar women from certain employment opportunities and to establish constraints on demands for women workers. Paraguay maintains a legal code which prohibits women from work which can be dangerous to feminine morality but does not specify what this work is, leaving it open to interpretation (Silva et al, 1975; PREALC 1978). Until very recently Nigerian law, in order to safeguard women's morality, did not extend maternity benefits to single mothers (Debo Akande 1979).

Other kinds of current legislation are demonstrably discriminatory and do not claim to be protective of women. Sri Lanka enforces quotas on the numbers of women who can have access to jobs in the public service sector. Only one fourth of employees in the Administrative Service (from which decision-makers are drawn) can be women; the Accounts and General Clerical services can have no more than a fifth of their total staff be women. This has resulted in a considerable proportion of well-qualified women being denied entry into Public Service employment in the last six years (University of Colombo 1979). The Nigerian Civil Code requires women who become pregnant while enrolled in training programs to withdraw from the courses and pay back, in whole or in part, the cost of their training. This may actually diminish the opportunities for self-improvement among women who are employed and can act as a deterrent to enrollment for women (Kesiah Awosika 1976).

In Latin America interviews carried out among employers in Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Venezuela revealed that they prefer to hire men over women because of the additional costs--establishment and maintenance of nurseries--and the disruptions of production through absenteeism due to maternity that hiring women may imply (CEPAL 1979). Social legislation which has a protective purpose proves to be too costly for employers and encourages preferential hiring of males (PREALC 1978). A Brazilian case examplifies numerically how protective legislation effectively constrains demand for women's labor: many firms simply dismiss women when they get married or become pregnant. Personnel managers in 20 firms in Sao Paulo which employed a total of 12,467 women in 1965 were interviewed about hiring and firing practices. In 13 of the companies, spokesmen explicitly stated they had policies to terminate women's employment at these times, primarily in order to avoid having to install daycare facilities on the premises (Merrick and Schmink 1978).

In 1972 the government of the Philippines changed legislation on maternity benefits from 60% of the salary for a period of 14 weeks to 100% of the salary for 6 weeks and limited coverage to the first four children of a working woman. A personnel director at a textile factory is quoted as saying "this made it profitable to hire women again" (Grossman 1980).

In situations where the law stipulates employers must provide facilities for working mothers when they hire X number of women, the former circumvent having to comply by providing employment for no more than X-1 women. This was reported to be the case in pre-revolutionary Nicaragua where the stipulated number was 30 women (Gillespie 1976). This practice, when generalized, effectively limits labor demands for women.

IV. CRITICAL ISSUES RELATED TO WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

This section discusses the structural and psychological forces at play in society which force women into residual occupations.

A major issue related to women's employment is the double burden: women are unable adequately to combine worker and maternal roles, and childbearing is used by society to relegate women to low-status/low-income jobs on the fringes of the economy.

Under the subtitle "Women's Economic Marginality" we will examine several facets of what it means to be a poor, marginally employed woman in the Third World. Although these facets are interrelated, we deal with each one separately to highlight the different ways in which women arrive at and remain on the periphery of the job market and economic development. Migration aggravates the economic situation of women, both for those who migrate alone and those who are left behind; a large number of rural-urban migrants turn to domestic labor in order to survive in the city. Domestic employment absorbs a large part of women's labor supply but traps them in dead-end occupations. Women's poor economic condition is also seen in their roles as unpaid workers in family enterprises and in recently available statistics on the extent of their unemployment and underemployment. Further, for those women who do manage to secure employment, economic marginality takes the form of systematic under-remuneration compared to male employees. Finally, the informal labor market and women's over-representation in it provide a unifying theme to the economic plight of women.

A related aspect of women's marginality is their exclusion from the agricultural sector in rural areas, and their resulting need for off-farm employment. A crucial element in rural development planning is therefore the expansion of off-farm employment opportunities for women whose earnings are of central importance to their families.

This section ends with a discussion of the recent growth of employment opportunities for women in transnational corporations which produce labor-intensive goods for export. The conditions of employment for women in these industries reflect the "internationalization" of female labor, and the exploitation of Third World women workers.

A. The Double Burden

A constant problem associated with women's changing economic roles and responsibilities, and their increased employment outside the home is the double work load they must perform.

For the overwhelming majority of working women employment means an extension of the working day to accommodate both their salaried activities and their home responsibilities. This double burden or double-day phenomenon is among the most serious of the problems contained in the issue of women's employment. The problem is intensified when one considers the long-term effects of women's double burden on their psychological and physical health and resulting loss of productivity.

Many of the stereotypes surrounding women's work behavior are based on the individual woman's failure to juggle successfully conflicting work and home demands on her time. Problems of absenteeism, reduced earning capacity, reduced profitability for employers, work histories characterized by exits from and entries into the active labor force, and other behavior which is interpreted by employers and researchers alike as a lack of commitment to their work and employment (PREALC 1978), are the result of situations where women are unable to totally cope with the double burden. Market vending has been characterized as work which is essentially compatible with motherhood and housework, yet the evidence indicates that the double burden of market women in urban Latin America is quite taxing (Bunster n.d.). A case study from Egypt documents the difficult situation of women factory workers with family responsibilities and how their work performance is sometimes negatively influenced by these (Hammam 1980).

Little data is currently available to elucidate how poor working women manage to cope--however inadequately--with the double burden. A partial answer comes from a comprehensive study carried out among urban Filipino women. In Languna, The Philippines, working women expand their workday, not by cutting back on childcare time or home production time, but by reducing their "leisure" time (a residual category which encompasses all those activities not classified as market production or home production). There are not significant changes in the manner in which males in the household distribute their work and "leisure" time when women's market production time increases. The latter are compelled to reduce substantially the time they devote to these residual activities from 115.6 hours per week to 86.0 hours per week, that is, 28 hours. Additionally, working women on the average dedicate close to 60 hours per week to market production. Finally, older children become increasingly responsible for home production and childcare activities, providing some relief for their mother's double burden (Popkin 1978). (We present the hypothesis that as women's double burden increases, so does the economic value of children, and that increased child labor becomes a means for working women to meet conflicting employment and home responsibilities.)

It is the responsibility of policy makers and planners to acknowledge women's double burden and to find means to minimize it and ultimately relieve women of it. This should happen not by denying women work opportunities, but by reducing home and childcare responsibilities to make them more compatible with women's economic roles. (Refer to the section on Policy Recommendations.)

B. Marginalization of Women's Work

1. The Economic Consequences of Migration for Women

Migration has affected women in the Third World in two ways, both of which have had serious implications for their work and employment. As a result of population pressure and rural poverty, single women of all ages are increasingly involved in domestic and international migrations in an attempt to find a means of livelihood. This penomenon of the "autonomous" woman migrant (as distinct from women who are involved in family migration) is occurring not only in Latin America and the Caribbean but increasingly in parts of Asia, West Africa and the Middle East.[23]

Women have also been affected by the outmigration of males seeking lucrative employment opportunities in cities and towns in or outside of their country. This trend has been recognized as typical of Sub-Saharan Africa.[24] However, male outmigration--particularly in the form of the internationalization of labor--has also been marked in the Middle East since 1973 as a result of growth in demand for labor resources to meet the production, construction and service needs of the oil-rich states.[25] The impact of male outmigration on changing and redefining the economic role of the women left behind has only begun to surface.

a. The Rural-Urban Migrant

Economic data available on the consequences of rural-urban migration single out the woman migrant as a distinct and the most disadvantaged category with respect to employment, work and earnings when compared to both male migrants and native urban women of similar socio-economic background.[26] Her economic marginality is reflected in her inability to become assimilated into the productive sectors of the urban economy; the exception to this is the experience in some Asian cities (Bangkok, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia), where young female migrants are absorbed in the labor intensive manufacturing industries. However by and large, migrant women are cast and remain locked into the most marginal, low-status and low-pay service sectors.

Migrant women, more than any other poverty group, have pronounced economic needs; they have least access to support networks in the city and fewest resources of their own to draw upon in terms of education/training, and skills, and consequently exhibit low aspiration to wages.[27] All these characteristics compel the woman migrant to accept the types of jobs and marginal wages that neither male migrants nor poor urban women are ever likely to consider. Although women migrants are less frequently unemployed this may be due to the fact that they are less discriminating about the jobs and the wages they accept.[28]

An overwhelming proportion of migrant women work in domestic service (some Asian countries excepted). In Latin American cities and the Caribbean, 55 to 60% of all migrant women work as domestics; in some countries 80% of all domestics in the cities are women migrants. This same pattern prevails in the Philippines and in India. Even when entry is gained into non-domestic work, it is of the same unskilled and low-paid category as domestic work.[29]

Two other factors of women's migration are a) women migrants have low return ratios to their points of origin; b) women migrants often become women heads of household.[30] Rural migrants who become heads of household make up the poorest of all among low income groups. Their income is less than one half that of the individual male migrants and one-fourth the total income of households headed by male migrants (Whiteford 1978).[31]

b. The Women Left Behind

The economic impact of male migration upon the women left behind has implications for women's employment because of the compelling changes that occur in the redefinition of women's economic roles. These changes can be summarized as follows (Hammam 1979):

1. On the one hand, new class differentiations are sometimes introduced depending on the amount, regularity or investment of remittances. These changes are reflected in the redivision of labor and in the reorganization of property relations. Depending on the amount of remittances a family or household receives, on its regularity and on its investment, the out-migration of males has relieved some women of the necessity to work either as family producers and/or for a wage. Options for the household as a whole have increased:

   (i) if the household or family was landless or near landless, they can now afford to acquire land or increase their land holdings;

   (ii) if the women formerly worked for a wage, they can now reassume household (unpaid) economic activities; if they were formerly family workers, they can now hire labor, etc. (Hammam 1979).

2. Migration does not always have a salutary effect on supplying areas. The negative effects of migration in agricultural productivity, for example, have been noted: agricultural output decreases, less food becomes available for national consumption and export; some countries become dependent on food or have to switch to less labor-intensive crop cultivation.[32] The significance of such changes upon women[33] are reported as follows

(Hammam 1979).

> (i) "due to the absence of males in a household as a result of their outmigration, women are compelled to assume increased workloads by taking on those chores formerly performed by the men".
>
> (ii) "due to increasing labor scarcity (on sectoral levels) as a result of outmigration, and to the concomittant rise in the price of hired labor, households which formerly depended on hired labor and who now can no longer afford their wages, increase their dependence on unpaid family labor of women and children in a whole range of economic activities (from which they may have previously been exempt) as substitutes to hired wage labor."

The women left behind are assuming the responsibility for organizing and actively participating (in some cases for the first time in their lives) in almost all activities surrounding the agricultural production system. This includes Turkish women driving tractors and building their own homes; Yemeni women assuming control of family farms, participating in group well drilling, cattle investment and home electrification; Lesotho women organizing work parties for the plowing, planting and harvesting of crops (Youssef, Buvinić and Kudat 1979).

Although in some countries women's agricultural work loads and responsibilities have increased, in others women are not assuming the economic role of the men who have migrated out.[34] In either case there is a need to avoid exacerbating the economic marginality of rural women by mobilizing and training them to operate and maintain machines and other equipment engaged in field production related work, as well as in poultry raising, dairy production, care of livestock, packing crops, etc. Though women's role in decision and field production is growing, these same women are not always able themselves to sell the crops and maintain control over farm income. An additional difficulty faced by women is that subsistence output, though still necessary for family survival is increasingly and by necessity being subsidized by cash purchases. Since crop cultivation yields neither cash nor adequate food for a family, supplements must therefore be purchased. With growing reliance on cash, male work is assuming more importance and women are isolated in the countryside with little or no access to wage earning activities.

2. Domestic Labor: Physical Labor in Return for Room and Board

In many regions of the developing world, notably Latin America, domestic work in urban areas is a major source of employment for young women (Jelin 1977). In the Middle East and certain parts of Asia, males predominate statistically as housekeepers, servants, cooks, and other types of domestic laborers, although women are also found in those categories (Youssef 1974). These statistics are open to question.

The situation in Latin America is much better documented: women make up the bulk of domestic servants and their situation is invariably accompanied by conditions that make it one of the more exploitative forms of female labor.[35] A typical domestic worker in Lima, Peru, will be holding her third job by the time she is 18 years old; she will have started working at age 12, immediately after migrating from her Indian village and leaving behind her landless peasant family. She will have barely completed three years of elementary education; she works an average of 14 hours daily, gets one day off every two weeks and a salary roughly equivalent to US $30 per month. At 18 she will probably become pregnant and subsequently be laid-off. She has no legal recourse to prevent her employers from dismissing her, or to demand minimum wages or social security benefits (Chaney 1977). Domestic workers in Latin America are given no opportunities for self-improvement, and have little means of making contact with other women in similar circumstances to organize for collective bargaining (Finn and Jusenius 1975; ISIS March 1978). The domestic servant works more hours per day than any of her male counterparts working in blue collar jobs and in the informal labor market (PREALC 1978), and she earns 60% of what other employees in the informal sector earn (Chaney 1977).[36]

The issue of extending social security coverage to domestic workers does not have a straightforward solution. When attempts have been made to regulate the informal domestic labor market through the introduction of social security legislation, the result has been detrimental to the interests of the domestic workers themselves. For instance, in Peru the labor code was modified in 1970 to cover social security benefits for domestics. In order to become eligible for social security coverage, however, domestic servants and their employers each had to contribute a monthly stipend to social security payments. This naturally meant that the servant's contribution would have to be deducted from her already meager salary. Because they cannot afford to make these payments, most domestics remain ineligible for social security protection (Chaney 1977).[37] The structure of labor and social security legislation which puts the burden on the servant herself constitutes a severe problem.

The link between migration and domestic labor among women has been well documented (Jelin 1977; Youssef, Buviníc and Kudat 1979). It has been pointed out that women migrate both internally from the rural to the urban areas within countries, and internationally from depressed areas to the growing cities of developing regions. What has not been well documented, however, is the trend of women to migrate from developing into developed nations for the explicit purpose of fulfilling the otherwise unmet need for domestic labor in the latter. With the support of the Philippine government, thousands of Filipino women are sent overseas to become domestics in North America, some circum-Mediterranean countries, Hong Kong and particularly Belgium.[38] The exploitation of these Third World women in industrialized countries appears to be no less prevalent than that of domestics in developing regions (ISIS March 1978). The real extent of this practice of exporting female domestic labor to developed areas is unknown. Domestic labor remains--at least in Latin America--one of the most exploitative forms of employment for millions of women.

3. Unemployment and Underemployment

It is commonly assumed that women have lower unemployment and underemployment rates than men. This assumption is supported in part by inaccurate census data due to problems in measuring employment, the number of active job seekers and labor utilization. One reason for the inadequate attention given to female unemployment is the notion that women's work is not important. Another is the impression that since female participation rates are low, the absolute number of women unemployed would be considerably less than the number of unemployed men. Both impressions have been shown to be incorrect.

Where special efforts have been made to measure unemployment, the findings indicate the following trends:

(i) In some countries female unemployment rates are higher--sometimes two or three times higher--than unemployment rates for men, e.g., parts of Kenya, Colombia, Sri Lanka, India. (See Kenya Employment Mission, n.d.; Lubell and McCallum, 1978 for Colombia; Univ. of

Colombo, 1979, for Sri Lanka; Ryan, 1979, and Gulati, 1976 for India.)

(ii) Unemployment rates for women have drastically increased during the 1960-1970 decade, e.g. Morocco, Sri Lanka (See Youssef, 1977 for Morocco; Univ. of Colombo, 1979 for Sri Lanka).

(iii)Women at both extremes of the age hierarchy experience the highest incidence of unemployment in both absolute and relative terms compared to men, e.g. Indonesia, Sri Lanka (See Sethuraman, 1976, for Indonesia: Univ. of Colombo, 1979 for Sri Lanka)

(iv) Female unemployment often increases with years of schooling in both absolute and relative terms. In countries where the educational level of the unemployed is greater than that of the employed, educated women are at a greater disadvantage than educated men, e.g. Sri Lanka, Indonesia (See Univ. of Colombo, 1979, for Sri Lanka and Sethuraman, 1976, for Indonesia)

Likewise, efforts to measure women's underemployment point to the following:

(i) In general, underemployment is higher than unemployment in developing countries, and in some is higher for women than for men (Lewin, et al 1977).

(ii) More women than men tend to be underemployed by reason of low income and low hours of work (this is particularly true for the married, divorced and widowed) and by restricted access to certain jobs (Redmana, et al 1977; and Hansen 1969).

(iii)Underutilization of women's labor increases with age in urban areas and decreases with age in rural areas (Redmana, et al 1977).

(iv) Underemployment in rural areas is highest for women and lowest for men; while the converse is true in urban areas (Berry and Sabot 1976).

(v) The higher underemployment of rural women (compared to men) is often due to the seasonal nature of their agricultural work and to their restricted access to non-farm activities (Hansen 1969).

4. The Underrepresentation of Women in Paid Labor

One striking aspect of Third World women's marginality in the economic system is that they are much more likely than men to work without pay, particularly in activities which involve shifts between market and non-market activities. Women tend to work without pay most frequently in the agricultural sector, and to a lesser though still significant degree in traditional manufacturing (particularly in crafts production) and petty trade.

The category of "unpaid" worker is elusive and "defiant of formal measurement" (Dixon 1979).[39] The phenomenon is only partly reflected in comparative labor force statistics because many women involved in unpaid economic production are often excluded from the census count and is a major cause for the gross underestimation of the de facto female economically active population.

Calculating the percentage of the female economically active population by employment status[40] in 56 developing countries and singling out the proportion reported as "unpaid workers" highlights the following trends (Dixon 1979):

Women are overrepresented as "unpaid workers" in approximately two-thirds of the countries purviewed. The highest percentages of women among all unpaid workers reported are in Sub Saharan Africa (63%) and Asia (52%); in contrast to the North Africa/Middle East and Central/South American regions where the percentage of women in unpaid labor is only 37% and 24% respectively. However, the lower percentages in the two latter regions are probably due to the exclusion of the "unpaid worker" category from many of labor force surveys (apparent exceptions are Turkey, Puerto Rico and Haiti). The higher figures for Asia and Africa are likely to reflect more realistically the number of unpaid family workers in all regions of the world. The regional averages obviously conceal important inter-regional and intra-national variations associated with residence, socioeconomic class, age, marital status and ethnicity.[41]

5. Low Wages of Women Workers

Evidence from all regions of the developing world shows that women are concentrated in the lowest paying jobs. A sample of employed persons in Ecuador shows that working women are most concentrated in personal service work (41%), which has one of the lowest monthly salaries of all occupational categories. Further, 43% of women and only 20% of men are concentrated in the four lowest paying occupations (PREALC 1978). In Thailand, a sample of industrial and service sector workers indicates that women comprise 78% of the workers in the textile and apparel industry and 54% of the workers in the chemical, petroleum, rubber and plastics industry. Wages in these two industries are among the lowest of all industry categories. A related study of women workers in the pineapple industry in Thailand shows that 58% are in unskilled and 40% in semi-skilled jobs (Thosanguan 1978).

Looking at the ratio of female to male wages (c. 1975) across occupations and industry sectors, women earn 55% that of men in Ecuador (PREALC 1978); and 57% that of men in one rural area of India (Ryan and Ghodake 1979). Within the same industries, we also find that women are consistently paid less than men. In Colombia, for instance, women earn 57% that of men in the textile and footwear industry, and 26% that of men in personal and domestic services (Mohan, n.d.). In Singapore, the female to male earnings ratio is 83% in agriculture, 45% in manufacturing and 54% in commerce (U Wen Lim 1977).

A comparison of the income distribution of men and women further corroborates the lower earnings of women. This is perhaps best illustrated by data from Latin America, which shows that women are more concentrated in the lowest income groups. In Chile 72% of women earn less than 306 Escudos, while the corresponding figure for men is 58%. And in Costa Rica, 40% of women and 15% of men earn less than 74 Colones. This difference is even greater between men and women in younger (12-19) age groups (PREALC 1978).[42]

The gap between the wage-earning capacity and the wage-earning reality of men and women is further accentuated by employer's different educational and training requirements for each sex. For poor women in urban situations the completion of primary education does not translate into a commensurate increase in wage-earning capacity. In Belo Horizonte, Brazil, for example, the completion of an elementary education can signify a 60% increase in wage earnings for men, but women can only hope to increase their wages by 6% if and when they finish primary school (Merrick 1976). Other evidence from Latin America has been documented (PREALC 1978; CEPAL 1979).

Discrimination is evident as well in professional jobs requiring higher education. In Colombia, for example, urban women who have completed a secondary education are consistently hired for jobs that are considered less skilled and, consequently, pay less than the jobs male secondary school graduates are hired to do. Women high school graduates only make 70% of the salaries that male graduates receive. Professional women in Bogotá are able to earn half as much as professional men (Mohan, n.d.). Individual data from ten Latin American countries shows, in every case, that when men and women have equal training, women are relegated to the lowest paying jobs, especially among the least educated groups(PREALC 1978)

6. Women in the Informal Sector

The definition of the informal sector differs within countries--varying from low-level service jobs, domestic work, street vendors, laundry, all non-contractual jobs in the economy--which might include well-paid blue collar, industrial/skilled jobs.

In some cities the reported informal sector absorbs anywhere between 53% to 69% of all urban workers (Bombay, Jakarta, Belo Horizonte, Lima). There is a predominance of women in this sector; data for several Central/South American countries reports that urban women comprise anywhere between 46% to 70% of the informal work sector, in contrast to 18% of the formal employment structure.

Women enter the job market in domestic labor and low-level service work (unskilled jobs in the industries, street market vending). Mobility or assimilation into the formal labor market structure is highly unlikely (Castro 1978; Papola 1979; Arizpe 1977; Standing 1978[a]). For women much more than for men, the informal sector is not a bridge over which workers pass in shifting from agriculture to the modern sector.

Men by contrast--though many are initially relegated to low station informal jobs--are more able to assimilate into the formal labor market structure, as well as to gain entry into higher level jobs in the informal structure (Mazumdar 1976; Fraenkel, et al 1975; Lubell and McCallum 1978).

The sex differences in job status within the informal sector are reflected in earnings: women's earnings are noted to represent 40%-50% of male earnings. Among the self employed, the gap in earnings is not as wide; though women still predominate in the bottom income groups.

Despite their disadvantaged position, women's earnings from this sector are crucial for low income family survival. Such activities are often secondary occupations for women carried out intermittently with other tasks. The sector provides--even in its present structure--economic benefits particularly to urban women (and men) in that it compensates for the lack of resources to compete in the formal job structure.

C. Off-farm Employment for Women

It is important to promote off-farm employment in rural areas of developing countries because the agricultural sector can no longer absorb the available labor supply. This is a result of several factors, including:

(i) generally depressed conditions in agriculture, i.e., low prices and wages due in part to the increasing costs of fertilizer, seeds, pesticides and other factors of production, and to neglect of this sector by planning policies in the 1950's and 1960's.

(ii) capital intensive mechanization of production processes which were previously labor intensive;

(iii) transfer of subsistence cultivation in family farms to commercial production of cash crops, employing a limited number of wage laborers (primarily men); and

(iv) high population growth rates and limited amounts of land.

Land fragmentation has further contributed to the displacement of agricultural workers and to the need for off-farm employment. In many cases land reform policies, inheritance practices (particularly in Islamic societies) and adverse economic conditions have resulted in a decrease in the size of plots available for cultivation. Frequently, families can no longer depend solely on agriculture to support themselves and must turn to other sources of earnings for survival.

The growing number of landless households in rural areas of the Third World further creates a dependence on earnings either from agricultural wage labor or off-farm employment. Given the increasingly limited opportunities for wage labor in agriculture in many countries, there is a crucial need for the expansion of opportunities for off-farm employment.

As a particular group, women need off-farm employment for several reasons. They are often the first to be displaced from agriculture as a result of the introduction of technology and changes in production processes(see section IIIB).Opportunities for wage agriculture may also be more limited for women due to the preference for hiring men (as they are considered to be "primary" rather than "supplementary" earners) or to constraints on women's geographic mobility and ability to travel long distances to work. These constraints often are most severe for women from lower socioeconomic groups and those who are single, widowed or divorced (Bardham 1979). Perhaps most important of all, women need off-farm employment because their earnings are becoming an ever more crucial component of family income, especially among landless households where the contributions of all household members, including women and children, are essential. Stoler (1977) presents a good example of the importance of women's non-agricultural employment in landless households in Java, by showing that female income contributes one-third of the total income of landless households, and less than 15% of the land-holding households. In fact, because women have previous experience in many off-farm activities they may be better equipped to deal with situations of landlessness than men, who have a smaller set of alternatives to agricultural work.

Throughout Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, rural women participate in a wide range of non-agricultural activities, both in market production [as traders, small merchants and producers in small-scale agro-businesses and cottage industries] (Dewey 1963; Stoler 1977; Peluso 1978; Okeyo 1979; Bunster 1978; Youssef 1980) and subsistence activities [carrying water, collecting fuel, processing grains and other food, and storing produce]. In many of these tasks there is room for increasing productivity and output through technological or capital inputs and training; in subsistence activities, there is potential for expanding and transferring them to the market economy, thereby increasing cash earning.

Efforts to expand off-farm employment in rural areas should be based on developing opportunities for both men and women. Sex-segregated labor markets make certain areas of employment more suitable for one group than the other. Thus, special consideration must be given to the appropriate types of work and needs of both in planning for off-farm employment.

D. Women's Employment in Transnational Corporations

The promotion of manufacturing for export by transnational corporations (TNC's) in many Third World countries represents a new phase of development in recent years. Policies which encourage foreign investment in labor intensive "offshore" manufacturing industries have provided alternatives to import substitution as a strategy for industrial and economic growth in several countries, and have created large-scale demands for cheap, low-skilled labor, particularly among women workers. The increased employment opportunities for women in TNC's is distinct from preceding phases of foreign investment which have primarily employed men and/or displaced women from their traditional economic activities (Boserup 1970, Chinchilla 1976, Lim 1978).

The move into the developing world by TNC's reflects a new strategy in their efforts to recruit sources of cheap labor. This is especially important for industries producing goods such as textiles and electronic equipment, which face stiff competition in the world market, and in which labor comprises a large part of total production costs. The relatively simple technologies in some of these industries make it easy for new firms to establish themselves, which further increases competition and the need for reduced labor costs. Cheap labor can be found easily among marginal groups in the labor market (i.e., women) in developing countries with high unemployment, underemployment and population growth rates.

The transfer of production to the Third World by TNC's in their search for the cheapest labor available also has been caused by conditions in the U.S., including low unemployment (especially in the mid 1960's); the dwindling supply of immigrant labor since passage of the 1965 immigration law limiting the admission of unskilled workers; high wages; the increase in welfare which has provided the unemployed with alternatives to poorly paid, manual labor; and technological changes, especially in the container industry which has facilitated the development of a fast and inexpensive international cargo transport system. U.S. tariff policies have further promoted the export of processing industries (Safa 1979).

The labor market conditions for women in Third World locations provide TNC's with a labor pool in which wages are lower than in developed countries and less than wages which would be paid to Third World men for comparable work (Lim 1978). As examples, women work in the free trade zone of the Dominican Republic for $.50 per hour (Safa 1979); maquiladoras in the Mexican border region earn approximately $.58 per hour (Kelly 1979); and women in the electronics industry in Singapore start at an average of $.25 per hour. In 1969 the wage of an unskilled woman worker in Singapore was 1/11 that of an equivalent American worker, and Singapore has the highest female wage rates in Asia. In Malaysia wages are one-half to two-thirds, and in Indonesia one-fourth the Singapore rate. The average Asian woman worker receives in a day less than the hourly wage of a comparable U.S. worker. Statistics suggest that this wage differential continues to increase (Lim 1978).

Other conditions which make manufacturing in Third World countries attractive for TNC's include lax health and safety regulations, reduced requirements for fringe benefits, and limited government and union protection for workers. In addition, host countries, faced with high unemployment and the need for foreign exchange, encourage export processing TNC's to locate in their countries by offering an array of investment incentives, tariff exemptions, and tax holidays along with the provision of industrial estates and public housing for workers. Some countries have restricted workers' right to strike and have removed protective legislation limiting night work by women.

For host governments, industries have advantages over import substitution industries as a means of development and employment creation because the latter have small domestic markets and utilize capital intensive technologies transferred from industrial countries. Because export processing manufacturers must compete in world markets, they tend to be more efficient in exploitation of labor and capital resources and utilization of production capacities than the protected import substitution industries. For the host countries, TNC's provide employment, foreign exchange, efficiently managed enterprises, and training of upper level administrators and managers.

The rapid growth of TNC's over the past decade has created thousands of jobs for women in developing countries and has created labor markets for women which did not exist before. Between 1971 and 1974, employment in the electronics industry rose from 7,750 to 24,000 in Singapore; from 5,300 to 9,000 in Hong Kong; from 350 to 2,600 in Indonesia and from 0 to 18,000 in Malaysia. Approximately 90% of these workers are women between 17 and 25 years of age (Lim 1978). In one area of the border region of Mexico, employment in the in-bond assembly plants rose from 2,000 to 33,000 between 1969 and 1978 with young women comprising 85% of the workers (Kelly 1979). In the free trade zone of the Dominican Republic 80% of the workers are women between 15 and 20 years of age (Safa 1979).

The demand for female labor appears to be related to "exploitable" feminine characteristics: TNC's consider women to have a natural "comparative advantage" over men in assembly processes (i.e., small, nimble fingers, attention to detail, ability to perform tedious, repetitive tasks) and are docile, disciplined, easy to manage and less likely to organize. The inexperience and naiveté of young women make them susceptible to TNC labor practices which aim at high production and efficiency and low wages. TNC's routinely sponsor work competitions for prizes such as cosmetics and free dinners, and maintain wage policies which penalize workers who fail to work overtime, holidays or meet production goals (Lim 1978). In some cases women are required to work six months as apprentices before earning minimum wages (Grossman 1979).

Women are also paid less because they are considered to be secondary wage laborers with low skills and low commitment to the labor force. Despite low wages, women continue to provide a ready supply of labor because of their need for income and the limited alternative opportunities for employment. In the Dominican Republic, women's need for income is apparent in the large percentage of the young women factory workers in the free trade zone who are heads of household (Safa 1979). Lack of jobs for males has forced many Malaysian women to take on wage labor in order to partially or totally support their families. In some cases, male unemployment has been a result of displacement of farmers or fishermen from sites requisitioned for construction of industrial estates or airports (Lim 1978).

While it is clear that TNC's have provided large-scale employment for women, close examination of the conditions of employment raises several serious issues. This, combined with the uncertain long-term viability of TNC's in any one country, calls into question the appropriateness of "offshore sourcing" as a strategy to promote female labor force participation. Some of the adverse conditions of employment in TNC's are the following:

- The demand for workers is limited to certain groups of women. Firms prefer to hire women in younger age groups (15-25) with no more or less than a secondary level education. These groups are considered to be harder working, conscientious, obedient and less likely to organize or burden the firm with maternity benefits. "Older" women (aged 23 or 24) are more likely to be laid off and not rehired by TNC's, because as they build up seniority benefits, they become more expensive.

- The marital status of women variously affects their employability. While the hiring of married women is limited in some firms because they do not want to assume maternity benefits, other firms encourage employment of married women because they quit on a regular basis to have children. A more rapid turnover of workers results in lower labor costs for the TNC's because new workers, who are just as productive, are hired at starting pay and benefits.

- While TNC's may expand the labor pool and increase the number of employed women, they also tend to accentuate pre-existing imbalances in local labor markets. Because firms operating in developing countries have drawn more women seeking work into the labor market and sometimes displace national industries; unemployment also increases.

- The jobs provided by TNC's are highly unstable in the short run due to cyclical variations in the world market, mergers, takeovers, transfers of production or closures; as a result, frequent lay-offs are common. Adverse working conditions further contribute to the high turnover rate of women workers (200% per year in one electronics factory in Singapore according to Deyo [1980], and Safa [1979] reports 60% per year turnover in the Dominican Republic.) For women who are laid off or leave, alternative jobs are not easy to find, as the skills women possess are not transferable to other occupations and neighbor TNC's often refuse to hire workers from other firms.

- Unionization of workers is discouraged. In cases where unions have been allowed, they often have been co-opted by governments to accommodate TNC's rather than to promote the interests of the workers. The power of the unions is also undermined by a large reserve pool of unemployed. In fact, in many countries, the lack of an organized labor force is a major factor in initially attracting TNC's.

- Worker mobility is restricted both within and between firms.

- Neighbor TNC's often cooperate or colude in keeping wages low.

- Fewer women than men are trained for and hold technical and managerial postitions.

- Health and safety problems exist for TNC workers and result in strained eyesight; effects of chemical fumes resulting in allergies, skin troubles, nausea and vomiting; physiological disruptions for women on rotating shifts; stress from continuous loud noise; and high lead content in some manufacturing processes.

- The growth of TNC's is often accompanied by community-related problems including a lack of adequate housing and, in cases when workers migrate from other areas, the creation of squatter settlements; increased demand for housing and food frequently causes inflation. Further, when workers live in housing other than that provided by the TNC's transportation to work may be a problem, especially for workers on night shifts. And, in some instances, there is a social stigma attached to being a woman worker in a TNC.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

Two major conclusions are derived from the findings discussed in the previous sections: women have an undeniable need to obtain gainful employment; and the constraints to women's employment are generated more frequently from imposed restrictions on the demand for female labor than on the supply of that labor in low-income economies.

As women are displaced from traditional productive activities, and as the welfare functions of the traditional family break down, women's economic needs are no longer adequately taken care of by others. Additionally, structural changes brought about by the process of socio-economic development have created an increase in women-headed households, in the proportion of single mothers, divorced and widowed women, who are exclusively or primarily responsible for their own and their dependents' survival. All these poor, Third World women have an imperative economic need to earn a living in order to meet their roles as providers. Furthermore, their economic contribution to the family's survival is critical, as it is the women's income which is usually and totally assigned to obtaining essentials such as food and shelter. In certain cases women's income has been shown to improve the health and nutritional status of their children. Women's changing economic responsibilities and contributions to family well being can no longer go unrecognized. Women's need to work is just as crucial as men's, and should, therefore, be considered in planning for development.

Although current measures often underestimate considerably women's participation in the work force, national level statistics nonethe less indicate that women workers contribute substantially to development. A survey of recent labor force participation rates confirms that women are active workers in all regions of the developing world; are variously active in agricultural and nonagricultural activities; participate at different rates in industrial sectors compared to the total labor force; and are more active than men as unpaid family workers. Moreover, estimates of women's contribution to gross domestic product, when adjusted for their relative participation in agriculture, industry and services, shows that in most countries women contribute roughly the same as their proportion in the labor force and, in several countries, contribute even more than their proportion of the total labor force.

In explaining the limited employment opportunities for women, the development literature to date has tended to over-emphasize constraints on female labor supply. Women's family and child care responsibilities, a rigid and unyielding sexual division of labor, and women's lack of training and education frequently are offered as reasons for women's marginal economic position. While there is no doubt that these factors are important, a substantial amount of evidence shows that women particularly among the poor, are very active in work outside the home even though they have little or no education, many children and major family responsibilities. When household economic needs are great, the assumed incompatability of mother and worker roles and rigidities in the sexual division of labor break down. They also break down when society needs work done and men are not available . Planning can no longer use these arguments to avoid planning employment focused strategies for women.

Factors restricting the demand for women workers have been given little attention, but may in fact provide a fuller explanation of the constraints to female employment. Recent data shows that unemployment among men has a negative effect on the demand for women workers because in situations of high unemployment, preference is given to hiring men on the assumption that their earnings are more important to the family than are women's. Evidence also indicates that the process of modernization further reduces the economic opportunities of women by squeezing them out of agricultural and industrial sectors and into the service sector, where women are relegated to low level jobs with erratic earnings in the informal labor market. Protective legislation may also restrict the demand for female labor by making certain jobs inaccessible to women, thereby reducing the number of jobs available and contributing to a sex segregated occupational structure. Reluctance and resistance among employers to hire women has been created. The high costs of complying with protective labor laws provide and "economic" excuse for not hiring women.

But the issue of employment is not resollved once women manage to secure places in the working force, for, as the evidence increasingly shows, they can only obtain residual employment which is exploitative, has very low status and remuneration, and is marginal to the productive sector of society. This situation gives rise to several critical issues related to women's work. Among the most universal is the problem of the double burden of working women with family responsibilities, and the long working hours they must invest in their employment and household activities. When women are forced to simultaneously cope with work and family responsibilities, their job security suffers. However, the fact that women have a dual role in society should not be used against them; rather, planning should concentrate on relieving household burdens of working women.

Migratory trends have compelled women to take on different economic roles. As autonomous migrants to the cities, women enter the competition for scarce jobs with the dual disadvantage of being female and poor. When the women stay behind they are not always able to take over the vacancies in production and employment that male out-migration has created.

The use of cheap female labor to fill the demand for domestic service in developing and developed nations alike becomes even more critical in light of recent findings that disprove previous conclusions regarding the upward mobility of domestic servants. The jobs are not steeping stones to better opportunities; they are quite dead-end.

Women's economic marginality becomes total dependency when they must produce as unpaid family workers. Women are over-represented in this category of workers. A more recent finding is that the rates of female unemployment and underemployment are considerably higher than previously believed, pointing to the conclusion that women are seeking employment and not finding any or not getting enough. Moreover, when women work for wages they are concentrated in the worst-paid jobs at the lowest end of the occupational structure, and consistently receive less earnings than men, even when they work similar number of hours. All these problems of marginal employment are exacerbated by the increased relegation of women to the informal labor market.

Changes in the agricultural sector brought about by capitalist development are displacing increasing numbers of women from agricultural production and creating more landlessness among peasants. Yet women have certain resources whose importance increases with these circumstances, as they have learned to perform off-farm work during periods of slack agricultural productivity in the past. Both the need for off-farm rural employment and women's advantages in this respect must be included in planning for the development of the rural sector.

The rapid growth over the past decade of "offshore" manufacturing for export by transnational corporations in labor intentive industries has created large-scale employment for women in Third World countries and, in certain cases, has created labor markets for women which did not previously exist. However, the conditions of employment in these firms, and the uncertain long-term viability of firms in any one location, raises several serious issues, and calls into question this practice as a strategy to promote women's employment.

VI. POLICY AND PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ENHANCING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

A. Recommendations for Minimizing Constraints to Women's Employment

Given the existing constraints to employment faced by women in developing countries, as laid out above, the following recommendations for action are proposed:

(1) Identify current labor needs and project future trends in relation to national and regional growth by

  (a) assessing the present productive contributions of of women and identifying areas where productivity can be enhanced (e.g., rural agriculture and marketing) and where entry and mobility can be facilitated (e.g., urban manufacturing).

  (b) identifying the potential pool of female labor in urban and rural locations, in formal and informal activities, and in various sectors and identifying the level of skills women possess or need to develop to participate in these productive areas;

  (c) assessing the number of women occupationally displaced by land reform, modernization of agriculture and urban industrialization.

(2) Recognize the existence and pervasiveness of sex segregation in the labor market and introduce mechanisms to prevent future sex stereotyping of women's employment. Sex segregation has evolved on the premise that certain occupations are more 'appropriate' for women than others. Consequently, women are disproportionately represented in low pay, low skill, marginal jobs with little possibility of mobility into new areas.

(3) Coordinate and integrate efforts to promote women's employment at the regional, national, and local levels; between the private and public sector; and among government branches (legislative, and judicial branches and ministries of labor, health, education, agriculture industry and social welfare). The use of coordination of actions and the use of existing administrative channels and extension programs, for the introduction of new technologies, credit and skills training should reduce the time and financial cost of implementing integrated programs.

(4) Encourage investment in labor intensive industries to promote absorption of the surplus female labor supply by providing incentives for public and private investment (through taxation policies, capital subsidies, labor subsidies, lower interest rates, etc.) in labor intensive industries notable for employing women, such as industrial sewing, tailoring, the textiles, food processing, chemical production, tobacco and paper manufacturing, etc.

(5) Promote the organization of women in cooperatives, unions and other groups to facilitate the mobilization of productive resources.

Several examples exist of how women's productivity can be enhanced by very basic interventions aimed at organizing women into functional groups at the grass-roots or community level. Providing assistance in organizational and management skills, the government of Bangladesh has effectively mobilized 25,000 women villagers into 600 groups which work cooperatively to secure credit and other productive resources for its members. Their newly acquired collective power and access to certain resources has allowed many women to commercialize activities which were traditionally non-market oriented. Self-employment, the creation of productive opportunities, and commercial abilities were all made possible through, among other things, the very basic organization of women's groups (Buvinić, Sebstad and Zeidenstein, 1979).

In another case, USAID has provided funds to create women's pre-cooperative organizations in Senegal (Kossack Nord Project, AID Project #698-0388.4). Through these women's organizations members have access to government training, technology and credit programs, and they can themselves develop the framework for subsequent formal cooperative action. The pre-cooperatives engage in activities which collectivize certain household tasks (e.g., grain milling) and others which have income generating potential.

B. Recommendations to Minimize the Adverse Effects of Protective Legislation on Women

(1) At the regional level:

In order to reduce the restrictive effects of legislation that attempts to bar women *a priori* from certain types of employment it is recommended that international labor agreements and recommendations be reviewed to remove unnecessary and outdated protective legislation for women. Additionally, protective legislation, which does retain current validity, should be recouched in conditional rather than categorical terms, to allow for flexibility. Finally, legislation should be reviewed to ensure it is protective rather than protectionist in spirit.

(2) At the national level governments should:

(a) Initiate the same kind of evaluations as those recommended above and again review existing legislation for a possible protectionist bias.

(b) Apply social security provisions in a manner that will not allow employers to exploit these and use them to discriminate against women workers. Specifically, the social security payments required of employers should be determined on the basis of the number of workers and not on the sex of the workers. Employers, whether they hire women or not, and regardless of the numbers of women they employ, should contribute to funds for maternity and other benefits. In this way, the financing of special protection for the working mother would not involve costs directly related to her employment, reducing the probability of discrimination in her job engagement or stability.

(c) Promote limited paternity leaves in order to distribute costs and responsibilities more evenly between firms within the private sector that employ men and those primarily employing women. Additionally, paternity leaves could have the effect of distributing responsibilities within the household and, by staggering them with maternity leaves, ensure adequate care of infants. This approach is now being tried in some Scandinavian countries.

(d) Legislation enacted primarily to promote breastfeeding among working mothers must take into account the adverse potential these measures have for women's employment. Breastfeeding legislation, therefore, must be protective of women's work as well as infant health. One way of accomplishing this would be to distribute the burden of the additional costs on-site breastfeeding facilities mean among all employers in the private and public sectors rather than forcing only firms which hire women to absorb the extra costs. Alternatively, establishments which employ women should be eligible for government subsidies to meet the costs of setting up creches, nurseries and transportation facilities to facilitate breastfeeding, and to balance out the production losses resulting from breastfeeding breaks.

C. Recommendations for Relieving the Double Burden of Women

As we discussed above the double burden or double-day phenomenon is among the most serious of problems surrounding the issue of women's employment.

The recommendations promoted to ease this burden are mostly aimed at reducing women's household chores and child-care obligations. Recommendations include:

At the regional or international level:

(1) Emphasize the economic or market value of home production in order to lend legitimacy and recognition to the problem of the double burden. Providing a quantitative translation of home tasks may convince international organizations, policy leaders, and government officials of the magnitude of the problem.

(2) Develop and disseminate appropriate technologies and labor saving devices for household work.

At the national level governments should:

(1) Recognize and act upon their obligation to provide child-care facilities to working women. Specifically, governments should launch nation-wide efforts for the provision of crèches, nurseries and child-care facilities, with locations and time tables convenient for home and work, and responsive to the schedules of workers with family responsibilities, both in urban environments and in those rural environments where the population is concentrated enough to merit the centralization of services.

(2) Involve working women themselves in the planning of programs to relieve their double burden. Women should participate in establishing priorities among the house-related tasks which need to be lightened or removed from the household domain. Domestic employment should not be promoted as a solution to this problem.

(3) Promote the development and use of appropriate labor saving technologies. Women's access to these technologies should be facilitated through joint ownership, commercial ownership, government subsidies and loans to individuals or groups of women.

At the program and project levels:

(1) Convert food-chain activities which are common to all households (e.g., the preparation of staple foods) at the community or neighborhood level into commercial activities and transfer these from the home to the market place.

(2) Outfit neighborhood or community-level centers with labor-saving devices, and other efficient technologies which are unaffordable to most women. These could be operated cooperatively or privately but beneficiaries should be able to use the facilities paying only for basic costs.

(3) Facilitate transportation between the home and the workplace. Both public funds and private subsidies should be made available for spatial planning of residential and employment zones, and for the rationalization and general improvement of public transportation facilities. Additionally, the private sector controlling job opportunities should, through legislation and its enforcement, provide its workers with means of transportation at little or no cost. By reducing travel time and travel costs the double burden of working women with family responsibilities can be partially lightened.

Projects which create or strengthen technical infrastructures may help relieve women's household burden. For instance, a USAID-sponsored water project in rural Morocco (AID Project #0150) made potable water more accessible to the household compounds, and allowed women to cut down on the time and effort they previously invested in fetching water. Alternatively, wells can be drilled close to or on the household site, as was done in Senegal (AID Project #698-0388.7).

D. Recommendations for Minimizing the Marginality of Women Workers

(1) Women's Domestic Employment

At the regional level:

(a) International labor agreements should be immediately expanded to include the recognition and protection of the mostly female labor force involved in domestic work, and to contain concrete ameliorative measures for the problems of domestic workers.

(b) The exportation of women to serve as domestic servants in other countries must be controlled.

At the national Level:

(a) Establish policies to study, recommend and act upon specific measures to improve the working conditions of domestic workers, suited to the particular conditions of each country. In general, however, policies that seek to ameliorate working and living conditions and to discourage domestic employment should be promoted, rather than ones which intend to block or terminate domestic labor, since it constitutes the only opportunity for remunerated work for millions of women. The creation of alternative employment opportunities for poor, unskilled women must be advanced as a means of opening adjacent avenues of remunerative work to the now almost exclusive one of domestic employment. Domestic employment should not be promoted by governments as partial solutions to the problems of urban unemployment and underemployment or to accommodate the needs of middle and upper classes.

(b) Revise labor laws, protective legislation and mechanisms for its enforcement, to ensure the interests of domestic workers are represented. Revise social security legislation in such a way to make coverage affordable to domestic servants.

(c) Promote and facilitate the organization of domestic workers for collective bargaining. This could be accomplished by requiring labor unions to include domestic workers in their membership.

(d) Institute legal counseling for domestic employees. Such centers should be open during days and hours appropriate to the schedules of domestic workers.

(2) Women's Informal Work in the Urban Sector

Unable to find work many women in the urban areas are forced to support themselves through ad hoc, unstable, and low paying activities. Typically, these activities range from the sale of personal services to petty marketing. Continually in search of new sales, and dependent on the flux of daily demand these women have little possibility for adequate pay, income security, or collective bargaining.

Governments need to modernize and regulate, to the extent possible, the informal sector. Market women need to be extended credit facilities, business guidance, etc., for the efficient performance and expansion of their trade. Cooperative movements need to be encouraged.

Because the predicament of informal laborers is so complex the projects designed in their behalf must integrate several different services and activities. Thus, the Costa Rican Barrio Program, sponsored by USAID (Project #515-0140), aims at reaching the women in the marginal or informal urban sector by offering motivational and skills training, guidance and assistance in reaching government agencies and government-sponsored projects, employment information, and child-care in a well-orchestrated, interconnected manner. Furthermore it involves the recipients as decision-makers and implementors of project activities.

E. Recommendations for Promoting Off-Farm Employment

Strategies for expanding non-agricultural employment for rural women are proposed by Dixon (1979) in Jobs for Rural Women in Industry and Services. Measures at two levels are recommended: First, national measures to promote investment in rural areas, encourage the diversification of rural economies, and correct other economic inbalances undermining rural development and second, grass-roots measures to organize employment schemes for rural women in nonagricultural production (particularly small industries and rural construction), sales, service, and administrative/professional positions.

Dixon further recommends a six-step approach to creating employment for women in the rural sector:

(1) identifying groups of women who are most in need of income-generating employment (particularly the landless, stigmatized racial, religious, or ethnic groups, and households headed by women);

(2) defining the range of economic activities in which these women are currently engaged, with a view to raising their output and income-generating capacity or shifting them into more productive activities;

(3) locating indigenous social networks around which groups of women could be mobilized to work together;

(4) establishing sources of credit, technical assistance, and training to reach these traditionally ineligible groups;

(5) determining needs for technology to reduce domestic burdens; and

(6) identifying and overcoming other cultural or structural obstacles that deny women control over the products of their labor.

"In combination with agrarian reform policies to reduce major inequalities in access to material and social sources within rural areas as well as between the rural and urban sectors, such strategies can provide women with essential support systems enabling them to become active agents and beneficiaries of the development process." (Dixon, 1979, p.ii)

Some of these recommendations are being implemented in rural agro-industrial projects for landless women going on in Egypt with funds supplied by USAID (AID Project #263-0060).

Poultry raising, traditionally carried out by women, is being developed into small scale enterprises which aim to upgrade the quality of the product and increase the income-generating potential of participants. When teamed with aqua-culture projects (AID Project #263-0064), they also attempt to introduce combined by-product production. A parallel assessment of the technical and social implications of the program focusses closely on the needs and potential of the women served.

F. Recommendations for Improving Employment Conditions of Women Workers in Transnational Corporations

In view of the problems for women workers in transnational corporations there is a need for Third World countries to formulate and implement policies on two fronts: first, short range policies which regulate the practices of TNC's; second, long range policies which create alternative employment opportunities for women, stabilize employment in TNC firms, and encourage the organization and training of TNC workers.

General policies:

(1) Establish strong national employment policies which guarantee responsible labor practices and equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers, to guide TNC's in setting up and operating firms in host countries.

(2) Promote regional cooperation and coordination of employment policies to discourage TNC's from changing locations to countries with minimal legal protection for women workers.

(3) Encourage the development of labor intensive technologies in import substituting industries in order to reduce the degree of dependence of developing nations on export industries which operate in highly unstable and fluctuating world markets; limit dependence on imported foreign goods; create domestic employment; and conserve foreign exchange.

Policies which stabilize women's employment:

(1) Establish guidelines for the provision of stable employment and social security through negotiations between TNCs, host governments and workers' organizations.

(2) Require TNC's to provide reasonable notice of mergers, takeovers, transfers of production or closures (which result in dismissals or layoffs) to government authorities and worker organizations.

(3) Require TNC's and governments to provide compensation for laid-off or terminated workers.

(4) Guarantee the equal employment of women regardless of marital status or age.

Policies to allow the organization of women workers:

(1) Promote unionization of women workers in order to (i) stabilize employment; (ii) improve working conditions; (iii) protect women workers from "shedding practices" (in which women who gain seniority and corresponding benefits are laid off and not rehired because they are more expensive to the TNC's); (iv) promote seniority rights.

(2) When necessary organize women's unions (for example, in locations where male/female interactions are limited, or where women may feel inhibited participating in activities traditionally dominated by men). This should be seen as an intermediary step toward the active participation of women with men in all levels of union activities.

(3) In conjunction with the unionization of women workers, design policies and programs to reduce the time required for household activities and transportation to and from the work place. In certain cases, women may not have time to participate in union activities without a corresponding reduction in the time required for household work and transit.

Policies to ensure training of women:

(1) Promote training for women at all levels within TNC's as appropriate to meet the needs of the enterprise as well as the development policy of the country. Training should aim at developing generally transferable skills and promoting career opportunities.

Other policies:

(1) Institute government regulations to control collusion of firms in keeping wages low and refusing to hire women from neighbor firms who quit or are laid off.

(2) Institute and enforce safety and health regulations.

(3) Direct and coordinate activities of national governments and the private sector to provide an adequate supply of housing and food in communities around TNC's.

(4) Remove protective legislation prohibiting night work by women.

FOOTNOTES

[1] 35% of heads of households are women in many parts of the Caribbean; their proportion is estimated at 18% in India, 23% in Indonesia, 15% in Iran, 40% in parts of Kenya, 46% in Botswana, 45% in the urban slum areas of Brazil and Venezuela. Between 1960 and 1970, the proportion of such households has doubled in Brazil and increased by one-third in Morocco.

[2] The magnitude of family responsibility in not known precisely. Not all national censuses provide information on mother/child ratios by marital status. Among the countries that do, the following statistics are noted: the child/mother ratio for divorced/widowed/single women combined ranges from 3.4 (Peru), to 5.1 (in Botswana), to 6.6 (Honduras). Widowed and divorced women aged 35 in Guatemala have an average of 5 children.

[3] The average number of children per single mother is 2.2 in Chile; 3.0 in Colombia; 3.2 in Honduras, 3.3 in Guatemala, 3.4 in Peru, 3.3 in the Caribbean. The percentage among the total adult population of single women who are mothers is 27% in Guatemala, Colombia and Peru when computed on the basis of those single women whose parity is known. When all signle women who have children are counted for whom the exact number of children is not known, the percentage of mothers in the single adult female population is more than double. In Jamaica, nearly all women 24 and over classified as "no longer living with common law partner" are mothers.

[4] According to the census figures for all adult single women, 20% are mothers in Mozambique, 46% in Botswana. The average number of children per single mother is 2.7. In the case of Africa it is not clear whether the appearance of single mothers results from arbitrary categorization of civil status according to whether the form of marriage is based on customary or contract law.

[5] The particular difficulty for rural women heads of household to find work is pointed out for Bangladesh and Botswana and Kenya. (Cain 1979; Kossoudji and Mueller 1980). In Bangladesh women heads of household find wage labor for 17% of all persons days, compared to 41% for male heads of household. For all type of income-generating work, women find work for 63% of all persons days; men for 83% (Cain 1979). A survey in rural Kenya, identifies twice as many household heads who are women among the unemployed as there are men heads of household. (Kenya Employment Mission n.d.); in Morocco, among all the divorced in the population who were actively seeking work 65% were women; among all the widows. the percentage female was 78% (Youssef 1977).

[6] The low level of asset ownership among women as compared to men has been identified as a major cause of poverty among women heads of house-

hold in Botswana. Women own fewer animals, and less land and possess less ready cash.

7 In Sri Lanka minimum wage rates for 31 trades show blatant discrimination in 16 of these against women; the difference is 2 rupees daily (University of Colombo 1979); in Kenya over three times as many women than men reported monthly earnings below 200/shillings (Kenya Employment Mission n.d.). In Botswana, when age and education are controlled, the wages earned by women heads of household are equivalent to one-half the wages earned by men(Kossoudji and Mueller 1980).

8 Among the urban poor, the chance of a son contributing income to a woman-headed household is greatest between ages 14-19, but declines considerably from age 20 onwards (Blumberg 1977). In rural Botswana, 80% of women-headed households sampled, depended solely on their own earnings(Kossoudji and Mueller 1980).

9 Several different household surveys show that in Malaysia, 76% of married women in rural areas and 90% among those married to plantation workers are in wage labor, as well as 80% of the Sri Lankan married to men working in plantation production. In Nigeria, economic activities inside and outside the home are recorded for 47% of all married women ages 20-24, 70% for ages 30-39 and for 50% of those aged 50-59. In Trinidad and Tobago four out of ten women ages 15-45 years are working (Youssef 1979).

10 For instance, in the Peruvian highlands, women from impoverished and increasingly landless households seek wage employment, provide 35% of the agricultural labor, sell small quantities of staple products and a few of the small animals they raise, and use the income to buy food and other subsistence needs (Deere 1978). On the Mexican-American border zone, where male unemployment is chronically high and demand for female labor has increased recently (see section on transnational corporations), women contribute, on the average, more than half of their weekly wages to their households, despite the fact that 70% of them are single women between the ages of 17 and 25 (Kelly 1979). Interviews conducted among working women in Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Venezuela reveal that their wages amount to 50% of the total family income, making clear the importance of their contributions to the well-being of the family group (CEPAL 1979).

There is ample evidence from other parts of the developing world as well, to demonstrate how critical women's earnings and income producing activities become in impoverished households. Among the landless in Indonesia, women and girls work longer hours and contribute more to household income than do men and boys, especially during the slack periods of low labor demands (Judd 1978). On the island of Java, women contribute 49.6% of household income and their husbands 26.9%; these women must seek employment outside the sphere of agriculture and successfully earn one half of total family income (Peluso 1978).

In Korea (Choi and Kim n.d.), Sri Lanka (Wolf 1979), Indonesia (Stoler 1977) and India (Safilios-Rothschild 1980) women's economic responsibilities and contribution to household income increase as household income decreases, as male unemployment and underemployment rise, as land holdings diminish, and as the demands of urban life become more pressing.

11 In Colombia, women who worked part-time had malnourished children in 52% of the cases; when women worked full-time, the figure was reduced to 32% (Wray and Aguirre 1969). In rural Kerala, India, a doctoral study conducted in 1977 showed that among landless households, increases in maternal wages were significantly associated with children's improved nutritional status; in cases where women did not receive wages, increments in the husbands' incomes did not generally improve the nutritional status of the children (Safilios-Rothschild 1980). In the Philippines statistics show that among the lowest income families the protein and calorie intake of children with working mothers is higher than that of children of women who do not work, although the positive relationship between children's nutritional intake and mother's work is not statistically significant (Popkin and Solon 1976).

12 This is in large part due to the omission of the unpaid family worker category in labor force surveys in Latin American and Middle Eastern countries.

13 The total deviation index attempts to show to what extent the distribution of women workers differs in relation to the total labor force. A "high" index suggests that the sectoral participation (and thus the supply and demand conditions in the labor market) of women workers is quite different from the total worker population; a low index suggests that labor market conditions and sectoral participation of women are similar to the total worker population.

14 Women's limited access to certain job categories is often explained by practices of statistical discrimination by employers, where decisions regarding recruitment, hiring, job designation, remuneration, promotion, etc., are based on group derived probabilities rather than on individual actual behavior. Employers may thus reduce female wages, restrict women's entry to low productivity/sectors, and promote and upgrade women slower than men in compensation for higher fixed labor costs associated with "anticipated" female turnover, absenteeism, etc.

15 The writings of Guy Standing, among few others, are a notable exception to this trend. Refer to: Labor Force and Development, 1978. Geneva: International Labor Office.

16 The question is raised as to whether there may be a certain threshold level of female participation in wage labor employment which when reached would diminish the tendency of employers to discriminate against women? Fertility levels may be one element influencing this threshold

factor. A significant decline in the birthrate may well undermine discrimination against women on the ground that their maternal roles would make them unskilled workers (Standing 1978[a]).

17 The custom of purdah confines the pool of potential employers of women workers to kin relations, faction/tribal leaders to whom husband/father/brother have pledged allegiance (Cain 1979). If women move out of the confines of the prescribed circle to search for work, they incur psychological social costs such as ostracism and shame.

18 In sex-segregated societies women's participation in wage labor is limited to market areas which fall within the boundaries that define their physical limits. Thus one often finds women in agricultural wage labor, while men dominate the wage sector in non-agricultural economic activities. In Java, a yearly record of time spent by men and women in non-agricultural wage labor indicates a total of 452 hours worked by men, as compared to only 70 hours by women.

19 Bangladeshi women are excluded from wage employment in rice/jute cultivation and assigned tasks related to rice processing, and seasonal labor involving the separating of jute fiber from its stalk (Cain 1979). In Botswana, men are reserved the more attractive earning possibilities, particularly cattle raising, from which women are excluded (Kossoudji and Mueller 1980). In Colombia women are assigned to do weeding, transplanting and home garden cultivation, and are excluded from threshing because of pollution. Until recently women in Colombia could not work on coffee plantations because they "infected the crop." In India, women almost exclusively are involved in nursery bed raising, transplanting, weeding and thinning (Ryan and Ghodake 1979)

20 Traditional human capital theory suggests that individuals will invest time and resources to acquire additional skills which will increase their marginal productivity and their wage rates in future periods (Becker 1964). The return from investment in education and training is the discounted value of future wage rate increases attributed to the training relative to the costs incurred. Training costs include both the value of money resources foregone and the value of time spent in acquiring the skills. The time costs reflect the earnings given up by the worker in order to devote the time necessary for the training program.

21 For an attempt to do precisely this refer to: Blau, Francine and Carol Jusenius. "Economists' Approaches to Sex Segregation in the Labor Market: An Assessment." 1975. Paper presented at the Workshop Conference on Occupational Segregation, Wellesley, Mass.

22 In Sri Lanka, for instance, the prohibition of night work for women has already lead to restrictions on the recruitment of women into factory work, and to the replacement of women who retire by men. Management considers night work essential to achieve production targets and optimum labor organization; the argument is that employing women curtails adjusting the work schedules, which would increase organizational problems (Univ. of Colombo 1979).

Legislation enacted to protect women from heavy or dangerous work remains in situations where technological improvements and changing work conditions have effectively reduced the amount of physical exertion needed to do the job as well as the danger involved. Furthermore, associated tasks which were once less physically demanding and, hence, appropriate for women, have not undergone technification. These tasks are now heavier and more demanding relative to the technified tasks, and performed almost exclusively by women (Delaunoy 1975). Some of this protective legislation is clearly obsolete.

[23] The movement of Latin American women to metropolitan areas began in the 1960's and has intensified to establish a female over male predominance in rural-urban migration patterns. Moves of autonomous women migrants to Bangkok, Hong Kong, Manila and Delhi intensified in the 1960's leading in some cases to a similar surplus of women over men in the rural-urban migration process by the 1970's. In the 1960's there also began a greater equalization of what had been a very unbalanced, male dominated sex ratio in West African cities, due to increasing rural-urban migration of young West African women. In the 1960's also, a striking occurrence in the Middle East was the outmigration of thousands of Turkish women to West Germany as part of the internationalization of labor.

[24] The South African government has deliberately fostered the pattern of family fragmentation to prevent large permanent settlements of Africans in cities. In 1970 there were 428,000 migrants from Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland working in South Africa , all of whom were forbidden to be accompanied by their families. Even where such restrictions do not prevail there are significant male-only migration moves. It is estimated that one-half of the married women in Basutoland have absent husbands; the 1969 Kenya census showed 525,000 rural households headed by women, 400,000 of which had male heads of household living in towns and cities. In Ghana, of all migrants recorded, one-half were married; among these 85% had migrated alone.

[25] In early 1975 there were 1,570,000 Arab migrant workers in the Middle Eastern oil producing countries (Birks and Sinclair 1979). In Yemen, roughly 30% to 50% of the active male population migrate in any one year for a 2 to 4 year period mostly to Saudi Arabia; one-half to two-thirds amongst these are married. In one region of Upper Egypt, between 50% to 75% of the active male population had migrated (mostly to Kuwait) (Hammam 1979).

[26] The empirical findings reported pertain to the mainstream of the migrant population, i.e., the rural poor, and do not apply to educated women who move to capital city areas.

[27] Aspiration wage rates for unemployed migrants in Kingston, Jamaica, were shown to be 33¢ for women and 84¢ for men. Women migrants expected to work longer hours than male migrants and women non-migrants (Standing 1978^{a}).

28 Migrant earnings differentiated by sex for eight metropolitan regions of Brazil, indicate that among migrants earning less than 100 cruzeiros, the number of women is six-fold that of men; for earnings ranging between 100-500 cruzeiros and over, the proportion of women migrants is one-third that of men (Castro 1978). In Santiago, Chile, median earnings for migrant women were half those reported by migrant men. In urban Egypt, the chance for migrant women to earn income is an almost foregone impossibility given their few resources (Rush 1979). For Jamaica, comparison of income levels of migrant and non-migrant women in Kingston shows that with education held constant, migrant women consistently earned less than urban non-migrants; in Peru the median income is substantially lower for women migrants than it is for male migrants despite higher educational levels among women. In Brazil, among male and female migrants with primary education men earn twice as much as women; among migrants with higher education; the men earn between 50 to 1,000 curzeiros monthly; the women only between 100 to 500 cruzeiros.

29 By contrast male migrants assimilate into the urban labor market (there is little difference in employment patterns between male migrants and urban male residents), through entry into blue collar jobs, civil construction and the other industries.

30 In metropolitan Rio de Janiero and Sao Paulo there are almost half a million households headed by migrant women; one every six households in Rio and one in every eight in Sao Paulo. A study among female-headed households in Santiago, Chile, showed that most were headed by migrants. In Colombia, 57% of the households headed by women involved migrant women who were widowed and/or not living with a male resident.

31 The median monthly income for women who headed households in Bogota (1970) was reported to be U.S. $6.00 compared to U.S. $15.00 for comparable male heads of household (Whiteford 1978).

32 The 1969 Kenya census indicated that 30% of the land in individual parcels was uncultivated; in Tonga, single women could not compensate for the absence of male labor and agricultural production suffered. Remittances of male migrants were reported to be inadequate to hire local labor to help the women. In Yemen agricultural production has switched to less labor intensive crops: coffee and cotton have been replaced. In Oman, seasonal farming has declined and so has the production of date palns.

33 The effects of male absenteeism on women is not restricted to rural areas; however interest to date has focused almost exclusively on the results of the outmigration of rural males.

34 In Egypt which supplies a considerable portion of its economically active male population to Kuwait and other oil producing countries, women have not been able to take over the economic role of the men.

35 Census data for the Latin American region for the 1960-1970 decade shows that of the non-agricultural female labor force, more than 50% was employed in the service sector, mostly in domestic service. More than 33% of the economically active urban female population was engaged in domestic service during the same period (PREALC 1978). In Brazil, 54% of the women working in the service sector were domestics; the corresponding figures for Chile was 58%; for Colombia 73%; and for Peru 60% (*ibid.*). In spite of the measurement problems of the economically active population (ICRW 1980), it is still striking to consider that in Colombia, for example, close to one-half of the economically active urban women are employed as domestic servants (PREALC 1978).

36 In Colombia a domestic servant earns wages equivalent to U.S. $25 per month, without including room and board; a servant works primarily for room and board, with wages taking an incidental importance. This is essentially the way that many employers view and justify their exploitation of domestic servants (ISIS March, 1978).

37 Likewise in Brazil, where in 1972 domestics were given the "right to contribute" to the Social Security Institute, which entitled them to medical care, retirement benefits and recourse to the Industrial Dispute Courts. However, employers who sign their servants' social security forms incur certain legal and financial responsibilities; furthermore, domestic servants must make their social security payments which they can rarely afford (Merrick and Schmink 1978).

38 It has been reported that in 1978 the economy of the Philippines benefitted from the close to U.S. $4 million it received in the form of remittances from the labor of Filipino domestics working mostly in Europe (ISIS March, 1978).

39 Technically it includes persons who work without pay for a specified minimum time period (in the case of women, one-third of the "normal" work period) in an "economic enterprise" (oriented towards the market economy) operated by any member of the household. In some instances the category includes apprentices, or family members paid in kind (Dixon 1979).

40 Employment status refers to the classification of workers as employees/wage earners, self-employed workers on their own account and unpaid family workers.

41 In Sub Saharan Africa the percentage of women who are "unpaid" family workers ranges from a low of 33% in Botswana to a high of 76% in Liberia; in the North Africa/Middle East region, Algeria reports 9% and Turkey 73%; in South/South East Asis, India 21% and the Rep. of Korea, 69%; and in Central/South America, the variation is less than 10% in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras and Guatemala, and 70% in Puerto Rico (Dixon 1979).

[42] For additional evidence of the lower earnings of women and the concentration of women in lower level jobs see: Agarwal (n.d.) for India; Boulier and Pineda (1977) for the Philippines; Cain (1979) for Bangladesh; Deyo (n.d.) for Singapore; ILO (1979) for Egypt; (ILO (1971) for Sri Lanka; Chaney (1977) for Peru; Kossoudji and Mueller (1980) for Botswana; Meesook (1976) for Thailand; Mohan (n.d.) for Colombia; PREALC (1978) for Latin America, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela; Sethuraman (1976) for Indonesia.

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